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CAROLINGIAN MISSIONARY THEORIES

By

Richard E. Sullivan*

The spectacular successes won by Christianity over paganism during the Carolingian period (c. 687-900) have usually been explained in terms of a victory gained by the use of forceful methods, a conclusion which is certainly substantiated in large part by the record of missionary affairs in the period. However, a note of caution should, perhaps, temper this generalization. Carolingian literature contains a considerable number of discussions of and allusions to the question of the best way to conduct missionary work. Often these theoretical considerations of missionary technique emphasize means other than force to gain converts. A description of these theories of missionary procedure might be useful in illuminating the rather obscure question of the methods employed by missionaries during the eighth and ninth centuries.

One problem that the Carolingian theorists on missionary method grappled with was that of finding a way to make pagans receptive to Christianity as a substitute for their existing religion. Carolingian writers developed two distinct concepts on this question. A small number argued that a concerted effort must be made to persuade the pagans by religious argument alone that Christianity was a superior religion with infinitely more to offer than the pagans' old religion. However, most Carolingians, prompted by a strong conviction that the spread of Christianity was divinely ordained and by a hatred of paganism, felt that pagans could rightly be coerced into accepting

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Christianity, the most efficient form of coercion being some form of political pressure.

The concept of peaceful persuasion by argumentation on religious grounds was usually presented by eighth and ninth-century writers only in very broad terms. The papacy often counseled missionaries to confront their pagan audiences with Christian concepts couched in language suited to pagan mentality. Scripture was usually designated as the best source of material apt to convince pagans that Christianity was superior to paganism.[1] Nicholas I, writing to the newly converted Bulgar king, Boris, in 866 indicated the rationale which prompted the papacy to insist that conversions must be made by persuasion. He argued that conversion was a gift of God, brought about by enlightenment from on high. Any attempt to hasten the opening of the pagan's heart except by argument was fruitless and dangerous.[2] Missionary biographers repeatedly paid their respects to the idea of peaceful persuasion as a proper means of winning converts. Hardly a missionary biography is without a reference, usually in very generalized terms, to the efforts which the subject devoted to an attempt to persuade the pagans to give up their ancient religion.[3] Occasionally a biographer

[1] For examples, cf. *S. Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae*, 12, 17, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, 42, 43, edited by Michael Tangl, *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus, Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (hereafter cited as *MGH*), Epistolae Selectae (Berlin, 1916), I, 17-18, 30-31, 34, 35-36, 41-47, 49-52, 67-69; *Epistolae selectae pontificum Romanorum Carolo Magno et Ludowico Pio regnantibus scriptae*, 11, edited by Karolus Hampe, *MGH*, Epistolae, V, 69-70; Migne, *PL*, CXVIII, 1035-1036; Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii*, c. 13, edited by G. Waitz, *MGH*, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum (Hanover, 1884), p. 35. Hereafter Boniface's letters will be cited as Boniface, *Ep.*, ed. Tangl, with appropriate letter and page numbers. The following abbreviations will be used for the various series in the *MGH*: SS. for Scriptores; SS. rer. Merov. for Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum; SS. rer. Germ. for Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum; Ep. for Epistolae.

[2] Nicholas, *Ep.* 99, c. 41, edited by Ernestus Perels, *MGH*, Ep., VI, 582-583.

[3] For some typical examples of this aspect of missionary biographies, cf. Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, c. 5-6, in *Vitae sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi Moguntini*, edited by Wilhelmus Levison, *MGH*, SS. rer. Germ. (Hanover and Leipzig, 1905), pp. 23-27; *Vita sancti Willehadi*, c. 2-5, edited by Albertus Poncelet, Acta Sanctorum, Nov., III, 843-845; Altfrid, *Vita s. Liudgeri*, Lib. I, *passim*, in *Die "Vitae sancti Liudgeri,"* edited by Wilhelm Diekamp, *Geschichtsquellen des Bisthums Münster* (Münster, 1881), IV, 3-53; Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii*, c. 7, 8, 11, 26-28, edited by Waitz, pp. 28, 30, 32-33, 55-59; Eigilis, *Vita sancti Sturmi*, c. 22-24, edited by Pertz, *MGH*, SS, II, 376-377; Alcuin, *Vita Willi-*

illustrated how he thought this should be done by putting words into the mouth of a missionary in the form of a sermon that a missionary was alleged to have delivered to a pagan audience.[4] These sample sermons dwelt especially on the great power of the Christian God, the inanity of pagan deities, and the beneficial rewards, both present and future, that would result from the acceptance of Christianity. The emphasis in these sermons tended to be on the material benefits that pagans would gain by accepting the Christian God, suggesting that Carolingian writers thought that pagans might most easily be moved by an argument that convinced them that a new religion would provide them a happier earthly existence.[5]

Occasionally writers of the Carolingian period sought to explain in greater detail what arguments they thought might be convincing. In 738 or 739 Gregory II addressed a letter to the Saxons, exhorting them to accept Christianity. Couching his arguments in the language of Scripture, he commanded the Saxons to abandon their "lying deities" and to accept the one God, who had made all things and who willed that all men would worship Him. He tried to convince the Saxons that they would be lacking in faith, grace, and eternal salvation unless they accepted the Christian God, although he made no attempt to explain these theological concepts to his untutored audience.[6] Nicholas I wrote a letter to Heric II of Denmark in 864 trying to hasten the king's conversion. The pope's letter concentrated primarily on explaining the omnipotence of the Christian God and the desirability of eternal salvation. He attempted to make Heric realize that only in the hereafter would man escape the miseries and disappointments of terrestial life and that only a belief in the Christian

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brordi archiepiscopi Traiectensis, c. 9, 11, edited by W. Levison, *MGH*, SS. rer. Merov., VII, 124, 126; *Venerabilis Baedae Historica Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, V, c. 9-11, in *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, edited by Carolus Plummer (Oxford, 1898), I, 298-302.

[4] Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*, c. 11, edited by Levison, *MGH*, SS. rer. Merov., VII, 125; *Vita Lebuini antiqua*, c. 6, edited by A. Hofmeister, *MGH*, SS, XXX^2, 794; Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honorem Hludowici Christianissimi caesaris augusti elegiacum carmen*, Lib. IV, vv. 1911-1991, edited by Edmond Faral in *Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1932), XIV, 146, 148, 150.

[5] Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii*, c. 27, edited by Waitz, pp. 57-59, especially stresses material rewards.

[6] Boniface, *Ep.* 21, edited by Tangl, pp. 35-36.

God could assure salvation, the pagan gods being powerless to save a man.[7]

The most explicit example of the thinking on the problem of persuading a pagan to surrender to Christianity came from the pen of an Anglo-Saxon, Daniel, Bishop of Winchester and close friend of St. Boniface. In a letter to Boniface,[8] Daniel drew up an argument to be used against the pagans his friend was encountering in Germany. The bishop suggested that a missionary should begin by provoking the pagans to present their own version of the origins of the gods and goddesses. Then the missionary should assault the illogicality of their mythology, demonstrating in as many ways as possible the self-contradictions involved in a theory of divinity which rested upon the idea of gods being begotten through the intercourse of male and female and which centered around a worship of gods in the form of graven images. Daniel also advised Boniface to attack the pagans' belief that their gods brought them material benefits by pointing out the favorable position of Christians as compared to the pagans. Throughout his whole exposition on converting pagans, Daniel placed the emphasis on disputation as the surest means to shake the confidence of the pagans in their old religion. He believed that pagans could grasp the fine points involved in a discussion of the origins of gods, the creation of the universe, and the powers possessed by various deities. He was certain that Boniface could succeed best against the pagans by "touching them from the flank, so to speak, so that the pagans, thrown into confusion rather than angered, may be ashamed of their absurd ideas and may understand that their infamous ceremonies and fables are well known to us."[9] The crucial step for a missionary was to undermine the confidence of the pagans in their gods. Daniel counseled the avoidance of a positive statement of Christian teaching, except as a means of comparison with the absurdities of pagan belief; to present a positive case for Christianity would only antagonize the pagan mentality.

These discussions of the necessity and the means of persuading pagans to become Christians, however, must not be overemphasized, since they formed a small part of missionary theory. Most Carolingian writers assumed that a missionary would begin his work under con-

[7] Nicholas, *Ep.* 27, edited by Perels, *MGH*, Ep., VI, 293-294.
[8] Boniface, *Ep.* 23, edited by Tangl, pp. 38-41.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

ditions where large masses of pagans had been left no choice but to accept baptism; the missionary needed to concern himself very little with "persuasion." This attitude was well illustrated in the literature that grew out of the problem of converting the Avars in 796. When Alcuin addressed his letters to Charlemagne's court in 796 to plead for a sensible missionary policy in connection with the Avars, he made no protest against the fact that Charlemagne's armies would force the Avars to accept baptism. He was interested in what happened after the Avars had been made submissive.[10] A synod held on the Danube just prior to the campaign of 796 to lay plans for converting the Avars gave no attention to the question of persuading the Avars to become Christians. Its decisions were made on the assumption that Charlemagne's armies would create an audience for the missionaries.[11] A tract entitled *Ratio de cathecizandis rudibus,* probably composed as a guide for the priests who were to be sent to baptize the Avars and one of the fullest Carolingian discussions of the problem of instructing pagans, paid only passing attention to the question of convincing pagans to surrender their old religion. The tract was written on the assumption that priests would be dealing with pagans who already were willing to accept Christianity, and that the missionaries need not worry about disposing of stubborn adherents to paganism.[12] To these authors and many others of the age missionary work in the proper sense began after the pagans had been made to see the necessity of changing their old religion by someone other than the missionary.

Several Carolingian writers made it perfectly clear that they felt the most efficient way to bring pagans to the point where they would listen to Christian teaching was the use of political force, arguing openly that it was justifiable and praiseworthy to initiate the conversion process by the use of the sword. The author who wrote that Charlemagne "preached with the iron tongue"[13] intended his statement as praise. Paganism deserved no better treatment than ruthless suppression. In the same spirit Alcuin advised one of Charle-

[10] Alcuin, *Ep.* 99, 107, 110-113, edited by Ernestus Dümmler, *MGH,* Ep., IV, 143-144, 153-154, 156-166.

[11] *Concilia aevi karolini,* I, 20, edited by Albertus Werminghoff, *MGH,* Leges, Sectio III, Tomus II[1], 172-176.

[12] *Ratio de cathecizandis rudibus,* edited by Joseph Michael Heer, *Ein karolingischer Missions-Katechismus* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1911), pp. 77-88.

[13] *Translatio sancti Liborii,* c. 5, edited by G. Pertz, *MGH,* SS, IV, 151.

magne's sons "to be terrible against pagans."[14] An Irish pilgrim named Clement summed up the attitude of the era very well when he wrote the following to Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria, after the latter had won a military victory over the Avars in 772:

> The Lord our Almighty God will fight with you and for you. They the enemy are pagans and gentiles who do not believe in your God, but adore idols and images of demons. Concerning such gods the prophet Jeremias said: "Let the gods who did not make heaven and earth perish from the earth and from under the earth." And let it be likewise to those who make them and who adore idols; let them disappear and flee from the face of the Lord; let them be terrified and dispersed and perish from the sight of Christians.[15]

Pope Hadrian I proclaimed Charlemagne worthy of the highest praise for bringing the Saxons into the Christian fold by conquest, and he publicized papal approval of this admirable deed by announcing the observation of a fast to give thanks for the marvelous success.[16] Einhard praised Charlemagne's persistence in pursuing the Saxon wars until the pagans were ready to surrender their religion.[17] Even Alcuin, who complained that "the whole miserable people of the Saxons lost the effect of the sacrament of baptism because this people never had the foundations of the faith in their hearts,"[18] did not blame the failure of the Saxon mission on the fact that the opening for Christianity had been created by force. His contention was that the Saxons were not handled properly once they had arrived at the point where they were willing to accept the faith. He was always ready to approve stern measures as a way of bringing pagans to the baptismal font and to praise those who used such measures.[19]

[14] Alcuin, *Ep.* 119, edited by Dümmler, *MGH*, Ep., IV, 174.

[15] *Epistolae variorum Carolo magno regnante scriptae*, 1, edited by Dümmler, *MGH*, Ep., IV, 796. For comparable examples, cf. Boniface, *Ep.* 120, edited by Tangl, p. 256; Angilbertus, *De conversione Saxonum carmen*, vv. 24-27, 37-46, 48, 56-62, edited by Ernestus Dümmler, *MGH*, Poetae latini aevi carolini, I, 380-381.

[16] *Codex carolinus*, 76, edited by Wilhelmus Gundlach, *MGH*, Ep., III, 607-608.

[17] Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni imperatoris*, c. 7, edited by Louis Halphen, *Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge* (2 ed., Paris, 1938), pp. 24-26.

[18] Alcuin, *Ep.* 113, edited by Dümmler, *MGH*, Ep., IV, 164.

[19] Cf. especially, *ibid.*, 110, p. 157. Also, *ibid.*, 7, 41, 98, 178, 185, pp. 31-33, 84-85, 142, 294, 310-311 for expression of similar ideas.

However, the use of force to convince pagans that they must accept Christianity was only a preliminary step in the Carolingian concept of missionary method. The literature dealing with missionary procedures reveals a keen concern about the most suitable manner in which to handle pagans who had been brought to the point where they had no choice but to accept Christianity. The theorists almost universally accepted the idea that pagans, regardless of how they had been made ready to accept the Christian faith, had to receive instruction in the rudiments of that belief before they could be baptized. Such instruction was thought necessary in order to make them realize the importance of their conversion and thus to guarantee their firmness in the new faith.

During the early phase of the Carolingian period when Anglo-Saxon missionaries dominated the scene most discussions of missionary procedures made little reference to the need for instructing pagans before baptizing them. The practices followed by the Anglo-Saxons indicate that they needed no reminders that pagans should be instructed prior to baptism. The Anglo-Saxon concept of missionary method, strongly influenced by Irish ideas, centered around the actual meeting of missionary and pagan for the purpose of presenting Christian ideas to the pagans.[20] It was only when the Carolingian rulers turned to forceful methods that writers sought to develop arguments justifying and urging pre-baptismal instruction. Alcuin was the leading spokesman in this cause. Moved by his realization of the failure of the Saxon mission and by the prospect that the Avars might be driven to the same reaction, he wrote Arn of Salzburg in 796 to urge the following approach to the conversion of pagans:

> Our Lord Jesus Christ ordered his disciples, saying "Go, teach all peoples, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, teaching them to follow all that I have ordered you." He said to teach first and then baptize. First, He ordered them to teach the catholic faith; after the faith had been accepted, He ordered them to baptize in the name of the Holy Trinity. Then having imbued them with the faith and washed them with holy baptism, He ordered them to instruct in Gospel precepts.[21]

In other letters Alcuin tried to buttress this argument, always emphasizing the pressing need to find a substitute for forced baptism.

[20] For a discussion of Anglo-Saxon missionary method cf. my article, "The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan," *Speculum*, XXVIII (October, 1953), 705-740.

[21] Alcuin, *Ep.* 113, edited by Dümmler, *MGH*, Ep., IV, 164.

He argued that rigorous impositions, like the tithe, only repelled the "infantile and avaricious minds" of the pagans. True conversion came only when the rational mind that existed in each pagan had been affected as a result of being confronted with the basic tenets of the faith.[22] The missionary must be content to wait for God to enlighten each pagan before administering baptism, bearing the onerous and discouraging burden of presenting Christian beliefs to pagans as a service in God's cause.[23]

Important as it was to try to persuade some elements of Carolingian society that more care must be taken to instruct pagans, this was a rather useless move unless some attempt was made to define what ought to be taught. A considerable amount of attention was given to this aspect of the education of pagans. This question did not assume specific form until the debacle in Saxony brought the problem to the front as a crucial issue in Carolingian royal policy. Prior to that most writers on missionary procedure assumed that missionaries knew what to teach to unbaptized pagans ready to accept Christianity. Most of the saints' lives extolling the missionary work of the Anglo-Saxons begin with a panegyric on the extensive knowledge about the faith which the missionaries possessed prior to their encounters with pagans. These saints were pictured as being so learned in theology that there were few who could add anything to their knowledge.[24] Under such conditions there was little use in trying to instruct them on what they should teach pagans. Apparently continental society accepted this estimate of Anglo-Saxon missionaries. Gregory II was willing to accept Boniface as a co-worker in spreading the faith because he felt that the latter had been "from childhood a student of sacred literature" and, therefore, was especially suited for instructing pagans.[25] The only specific idea that emerges from most of the writing concerned with Anglo-Saxon missionaries was the

[22] *Ibid.*, 110, p. 158.

[23] *Ibid.*, 111, pp. 159-162.

[24] For examples of this, cf. Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, c. 1-3, edited by Levison, pp. 4-13, *Vita Burchardi*, c. 2, edited by O. Holder-Egger, *MGH*, SS, XV, 48; Nun of Heidenheim, *Vita Wynnebaldi*, c. 1-2, edited by Holder-Egger, *MGH*, SS, XV, 106-107; Nun of Heidenheim, *Vita Willibaldi episcopi Eichstentensis*, c. 2, edited by Holder-Egger, *MGH*, SS, XV, 89; Lambert of Hersfeld, *Vita Lulli*, c. 1, edited by Holder-Egger, *MGH*, SS, XV, 135-136; *Vita Willehadi*, c. 1, edited by Poncelet, *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov., III, 842; Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*, c. 2-4, edited by Levison, *MGH*, SS. rer. Merov., VII, 117-119.

[25] Boniface, *Ep.* 12, edited by Tangl, p. 17.

conviction that Scripture was the basic source for the ideas that were fitted for pagan instruction.[26] It was assumed that a skilled missionary would be able to extract from Scripture the kind of material that was fitted for the pagan mentality prior to baptism.

However, the Saxon disaster, as has been noted, led to a serious concern over finding a means to impress upon the pagans a deeper, more comprehensive appreciation of Christianity. Perhaps realizing that little consideration had been given to the problem of selecting materials suited for pagan instruction, several writers of the late eighth and early ninth centuries attempted to clarify this issue. And here Alcuin again served as the leading spokesman. Reminding Charlemagne that Paul, "the preacher of the whole world, with Christ speaking to him, signified that the new conversion of peoples to the faith ought to be fed on pleasant precepts just as the age of infancy is nurtured on milk, lest the fragile mind vomit what it has drunk on account of the difficult precepts,"[27] Alcuin tried to define a body of doctrines which summed up the essence of the faith, yet was fitted to the mental ability of the pagans. He stated:

> First a man ought to be instructed concerning the immortality of the soul and concerning future life and concerning the retribution of good and evil men and the eternal reward for each kind. After that each ought to be taught for what sins and crimes he will suffer eternal punishment with the devil and for what good deeds and works he will enjoy eternal glory with Christ. Then a belief in the Holy Trinity ought to be diligently taught and the coming into the world of our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, for the salvation of the human race ought to be expounded. The newly-won mind ought to be made firm concerning the mystery of His passion, the truth of the resurrection, the glory of the ascension into heaven, His future coming to judge all people, and the eternity of the punishment upon evil doers and the prize for the good. And then the man, strengthened and prepared in the faith, ought to be baptized.[28]

Alcuin argued that three general features of the faith would have a special appeal to the pagans, viz., the idea of eternal retribution for good or evil conduct, the way in which man earns his punishment or

[26] For examples illustrating the importance attached to the use of Scripture in missionary instruction, cf. *ibid.*, 12, 30, 43, 76, pp. 18, 54, 68, 159; Eigilis, *Vita Sturmi*, c. 2, edited by Pertz, *MGH*, SS, II, 366; Liudger, *Vita Gregorii*, c. 8, edited by Holder-Egger, *MGH*, SS, XV, 73.

[27] Alcuin, *Ep.* 110, edited by Dümmler, *MGH*, Ep., IV, 157.

[28] *Ibid.* pp. 158-159.

reward, and the story of Christ and His relation to sinful mankind. As a more complete exposition of his ideas and as a guide for their application, Alcuin directed anyone interested—presumably those who would engage in teaching the Avars—to St. Augustine's *De catechizandis rudibus*.

If one turns to Augustine's work, expecting to find, as Alcuin says, "that order which ought to be followed in instructing a man of adult age,"[29] he will encounter certain difficulties. Augustine's manual was written to serve as a guide for the first phase of a well-defined procedure governing the admittance of pagans to the Christian fold. This procedure required that a candidate first account for his motives for wanting to be a Christian and give formal recognition to certain basic elements of the faith which were presented to him by an instructor. Thereupon the pagan became a catechumen and received more extensive instruction.[30] Augustine wrote his tract only with the first step in mind, since it was not intended to serve as a guide for teaching catechumens through the whole period of instruction that would conclude with baptism. Since the early system of initiating pagans into the Church had almost entirely dropped out of use by the end of the eighth century, there is no reason to believe that Alcuin proposed to use the work for the exact purpose for which it was written. Moreover, St. Augustine made it clear that he was writing with an audience that had some education, and in this respect Alcuin's prospective pupils could hardly qualify.[31]

In spite of this difficulty, Augustine's work was still suited for Alcuin's purpose. Augustine was concerned with making a pagan realize that conversion involved the acceptance of the fundamental

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

[30] For a description of the early institution of the catechumenate and its subsequent transformation, cf. L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien* (5 ed., Paris, 1920), pp. 309-360; G. Bareille, "Catéchuménat" in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, edited by A. Vacant and E. Mangenot (Paris, 1902, ff), II, 1968-1987; P. de Puniet, "Catéchuménat" in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, edited by Fernand Cabrol and H. Leclercq (Paris, 1907, ff), II[2], 2579-2621.

[31] For statements indicating Augustine's purpose, cf. *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis episcopi de catechizandis rudibus liber unus*, c. 1, 26, tr. with introduction and commentary by Joseph Patrick Christopher [The Catholic University of America, Patristic Studies, Vol. VIII] (Washington, 1926), pp. 14, 112-114. For the kind of audience Augustine had in mind, cf. especially, *ibid.*, c. 8, 9, 16, pp. 38, 42, 68

ideas of the Christian faith and that conversion on any other than purely religious grounds was invalid. His tract sought to outline these basic ideas in a way that a pagan could grasp before he proceeded to a fuller study of the new religion. In short, Augustine was intent upon defining the minimum religious knowledge that a potential convert must have before being accepted into the Christian community. Alcuin was in quest of the same thing—a guide to be used in presenting the barest essentials of Christian doctrine to the pagan Avars. By examining the content of Augustine's work as it related to the rudiments of the faith, one can discover what Alcuin thought should be taught to pagans in order to prepare them for baptism.

St. Augustine approached his problem in two ways. First, he outlined the most fundamental concepts which an instructor must present to a candidate for baptism.[32] Then he supplied a sample discourse illustrating the presentation of these concepts in an interesting and comprehensible manner.[33] God's ways toward man should first be impressed upon potential converts. This end could be accomplished by presenting a summary of Old Testament history with emphasis on man's sinfulness,[34] and by retelling the story of Christ as presented in the New Testament with emphasis on God's love for man.[35] From this review of the scriptural account of the history of creation the pagan would learn the basic teachings of Christianity: the hope of salvation, the last judgment, and the promise of rewards for the good and of horrible punishments for the wicked.[36] The pagan would learn that only eternal life mattered and that only the Christian God could grant it—on His own terms. Finally, the pagan would learn of the evils and temptations of the world, including especially those involving any sort of idolatrous practice.[37] In Alcuin's opinion this was the milk upon which the tender minds of pagans ought to be nourished. Prior to baptism the pagan must be convinced that the Christian God is the all-powerful Creator, that He has a special concern for man, that He sent His Son as a

[32] *Ibid.*, 3-15, pp. 22-68.

[33] *Ibid.*, c. 16-26, pp. 68-114.

[34] *Ibid.*, c. 3, 16-21, pp. 22-24, 68-94, gives a summary of this material as it might be presented in lecture form.

[35] *Ibid.*, c. 4, 6, 22-24, pp. 26-30, 32-34, 94-104, summarizes the story of Christ in suitable lecture form.

[36] *Ibid.*, c. 7, pp. 34-36.

[37] *Ibid.*, c. 7, pp. 34-38.

Redeemer, that Christ instituted a church through which God could be reached, and that God provided eternal joy for those who lived a good life. If these ideas were properly presented to a pagan they might bring about a fundamental change of heart, and no pagan could be baptized until he knew and accepted these ideas.

Further evidence revealing what the Carolingian era thought should be taught to pagans prior to their baptism is contained in the *Ratio de cathecizandis rudibus,* probably written about the same time Alcuin was concerning himself with the conversion of the Avars. This work, composed as a guide for missionaries, dealt directly with the problem of instructing pagans who had expressed a willingness to accept Christianity, but who knew nothing about the new religion.[38] The author advised missionaries to take special pains to test the pagan's motives for desiring to become a Christian. Prior to any instruction the prospective convert must realize that the only acceptable reason for conversion was a desire to gain eternal life; the acceptance of Christianity in order to secure a temporal reward was not justifiable and must be discouraged. In order to establish this point in the mind of the pagan, the author developed an argument which hinged upon the concept that every man—including the pagan—was endowed with an immortal soul which eventually would be brought to account before God. The only way to save that soul was to give up the love of the mortal world for the love of God, to believe that in the soul alone resided the only real worth of human nature and that a certain pattern of conduct would insure a happy future for that soul. Having established the idea that no pagan could escape accounting for his soul, the author of the tract advised the missionary to show the pagan what God demands of him. Drawing from the Decalogue, the author argued that the pagan must be shown that he had to cease to worship idols, to commit murder or adultery, to bear false witness, to engage in incantations, auguries, or sacrifices of a pagan nature, and to worship in any other place except a church dedicated to the one God. The pagan must be exhorted to love God and his neighbor if he expects to gain salvation. Once this general argument had been developed, the author of the tract urged the missionary to devote special attention to certain important elements contained in it. A long section was devoted to God's intolerance of the worship of idols while another lengthy discussion treated

[38] *Ratio de cathecizandis rudibus,* c. 1, edited by Heer, p. 77.

the real nature of the Christian God. The pagan must be shown that God is all-powerful, merciful, just, good, wise, the source of all that man possesses, the creator of all; He is the ultimate that anyone could expect in divinity. It was especially important that the missionary compare the Christian God with the pagan gods in order to demonstrate the inferiority of the latter. The whole discussion was designed to turn the pagan's mind to the worship of a deity whose ability to act knew no limits, whether it be for the benefit of those who obey and worship that deity or for the condemnation of those who spurn that god.[39]

Ermoldus Nigellus in his poem in honor of Louis the Pious presented another version of what the Carolingian age considered the proper material for teaching pagans who were being prepared for baptism. In describing the preparations made prior to sending Ebo of Rheims to Denmark for missionary work in 823, Ermoldus had Louis deliver to Ebo a set of instructions on how to proceed once he had arrived among the pagan Danes. Louis urged that Ebo portray the Christian God as a mighty ruler in heaven, the creator of all things, including man. He was then to recount the story of man in paradise, his fall, the sinful generations that followed the fall, the deluge, and the emergence of a new horde of sinners. Then the missionary must explain God's decision to send His Son to redeem man, the Incarnation, and the death of Christ. The pagans must be made to understand that Christ provided for eternal salvation by instituting baptism, through which sinful man was regenerated and without which there could be no hope for eternal happiness. Moreover, the pagans must have it impressed on them that God demanded to be worshipped alone; they must abandon their worship of idols fashioned by human hands. Ebo was told to explain to the pagans the folly of a reasonable man worshipping such gods and the extent to which the worship of idols endangers the hope of salvation. As a final piece of advice, Louis instructed Ebo to rely on the Old and the New Testaments as infallible guides for his teaching.[40]

Almost all Carolingian writers on missionary affairs rejoiced when pagans had finally been baptized, which was unquestionably the high-point of the struggle against paganism. However, these theorists did

[39] These arguments are developed in *ibid.*, c. 1-6, pp. 77-88.

[40] Ermoldus Nigellus, *In Honorem Hludowici . . . carmen*, Lib. IV, vv. 1911-1991, edited by Faral, pp. 146, 148, 150.

not consider that the task of conversion was finished once pagans had been baptized. Several writers felt that the instruction which had been begun prior to baptism had to be continued in some fashion thereafter. Almost everyone who expressed an opinion on missionary problems assumed that a long and laborious effort would have to be expended on new converts before the conversion process could be considered concluded.[41] The evidence pertaining to this further stage of missionary work does not contain a concise statement of the procedure or the material by which a new convert's religious life might be improved. The nature of the problem made any kind of instruction fitting. Faced with a horde of new Christians who admittedly had not been fully schooled in the Christian religion, the Church could quite logically sanction any kind of instruction that would bring converts up to the religious standards customary throughout western Christendom. Although the usual approach to the instruction of new converts was vague and extremely general, two lines of activity received rather considerable discussion and might, therefore, be accepted as the chief concerns of Carolingian missionary writers when they contemplated the staggering task of enlightening those who had recently left paganism. On one hand, rather extensive attention was given to the transmission of a fuller knowledge of doctrinal matters and their ethical implications; on the other, even greater concern was shown for the proper instruction of new converts in matters of liturgy and ecclesiastical discipline.

Carolingian writers who concerned themselves with increasing the newly baptized converts' knowledge of the faith were usually inclined to concentrate on a few basic tenets of the new religion. They advocated that missionaries further analyze and explain religious ideas to which the new converts had been introduced prior to baptism. The most thorough example of a Carolingian discussion of a doctrinal and ethical instruction for new converts is contained in a tract entitled *De singulis libris canonicis scarapsus,* written by Pirmin.

[41] For examples illustrating the concern held by theorists on the problem of post-baptismal instruction, cf. Boniface, *Ep.* 24, 26, 28, 45, 51, 68, 87, edited by Tangl, pp. 41-43, 47, 51-52, 73-74, 92, 141, 200; Alcuin, *Ep.* 110, edited by Dümmler, *MGH,* Ep., IV, 159; *Concilia aevi karolini* I, 20, edited by Werminghoff, p. 175; Nicholas, *Ep.* 99, edited by Perels, *MGH,* Ep., VI, 566-600; Eigilis, *Vita Sturmi,* c. 3, edited by Pertz, *MGH,* SS, II, 366-367; Nun of Heidenheim, *Vita Wynnebaldi,* c. 5-7, edited by Holder-Egger, *MGH,* SS, XV, 110-112.

The author spent several years in the first quarter of the eighth century attempting to improve religious life in Bavaria and Alemannia, where the population was nominally Christian but was far from adequately versed in a knowledge of the faith. His tract was intended as a handbook to guide priests who were trying to correct this situation.[42]

Pirmin devoted the first section of his work to a summary of the history of mankind with special emphasis on man's fall and God's provision for his salvation. Obviously, this was intended to refresh the memories of the new Christians on doctrinal matters, since Pirmin closed the discussion by asking his audience to recall the vows taken at the time of baptism and repeated the Apostles' Creed as the best expression of the fundamentals of the faith. Pirmin implied that any attempt to instill a deeper understanding of the faith in the minds of new converts must begin only after the converts had grasped the meaning of the Christian interpretation of history, and after they had understood the basic doctrines set forth in the Creed. Post-baptismal instruction ought to begin by a thorough review of the material that should have been learned before baptism.[43]

Pirmin then came to the real point of his tract. "A Christian who has the name but does not do the deeds will not be glorified by Christ. He is a Christian who imitates and follows Christ in all things. . . .It is fitting for us, brothers, who have been baptized and have perceived the mandates of God to take care as the Holy Spirit warns in the Holy Scripture, that is, to look away from evil and to do good."[44] The author listed and explained in detail the chief sins through which Christians transgress God's commands, and attempted to elucidate

[42] For the details of Pirmin's career cf. the two *Vitae*, edited by Carolus de Smedt, *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov., II, 34-47; *Herimanni Augiensis Chronicon*, a. 724, 727, edited by G. Pertz, *MGH*, SS, V, 98; Walafrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini*, vv. 27-37, edited by Ernestus Dümmler, *MGH*, Poetae latini aevi carolini, II, 304-305; Hrabanus Maurus, *Carmina*, lxviii, edited by Ernestus Dümmler, *MGH*, Poetae latini aevi carolini, II, 224-225; cf. also Kohler and Hauck, "Pirmin" in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3 ed., edited by Albert Hauck (Leipzig, 1896-1913), XV, 409-412; Carolus de Smedt, "Commentarius Praevius de sancto Pirmino Episcopo," *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov., II, 2-33; and the articles by G. Jecker, G. Schreiber, and E. Christmann in *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, V (1953), 9-101.

[43] Pirmin, *De singulis libris canonicis scarapsus*, Migne, *PL*, LXXXIX, 1031-1035.

[44] *Ibid.*, 1036.

the nature of certain general and abstract sins, like cupidity, vainglory, and pride. He also expanded his discussion to such matters as violations of marriage regulations, perjury, murder, usury, theft, and perversion of justice. He placed an unusually heavy emphasis on the sinfulness of engaging in pagan practices, taking care to supply a list of forbidden practices. This preoccupation with sin suggests that Carolingian missionary theorists felt that an explanation of the nature of sin must be given an important place in the education of new converts.[45]

Turning his attention to more constructive advice, Pirmin proceeded to list Christian duties whereby new converts could obtain positive credit in the eyes of their new God. Among the requirements which he especially stressed were the payment of ecclesiastical dues and tithes, worship on holy days, proper conduct in church, frequent reception of the Eucharist after confession to a priest, and the performance of charitable works. Taken as a whole, this passage emphasizes the necessity of impressing upon converts the idea of good works, as well as instructing them in the specific duties expected of them.[46] However, as if he were concerned lest his audience be alarmed in the face of their newly acquired burdens, Pirmin closed with a discourse on the glories of the celestial kingdom and the terrors of hell. He insisted that new converts understand perfectly that their new religion involved a *quid pro quo* arrangement and did not consist of a series of onerous burdens. Here, as throughout the tract, Pirmin revealed an undercurrent of anxiety that his audience had not yet fully grasped the otherworldly point of view which he considered vital to Christian life. He wanted to make certain that this concept be made a part of the outlook of his charges.[47]

Although Pirmin's work, which could be supplemented by scraps of evidence gleaned from missionary biographies, suggests that Carolingian writers thought that post-baptismal instruction ought to be limited to a few basic theological concepts, it ought to be noted that in the last half of the ninth century western writers showed a keen concern over guarding the "orthodoxy" of the doctrines taught to new converts. This element was injected into western missionary affairs as a result of the competition that arose between western and eastern missionaries in the conversion of the Bulgars, the Moravians, and certain Slavic groups in southeastern Europe. The papacy was the

[45] *Ibid.*, 1036-1041. [46] *Ibid.*, 1042-1044. [47] *Ibid.*, 1044-1050.

leading spokesman of the West on this problem. Nicholas I and John VIII constantly warned Boris of Bulgaria of the danger involved in permitting Greek "error" to spread among his subjects, and of the danger Boris ran of damning his own soul by associating with the Greeks.[48] Hadrian II and John VIII expended a great deal of effort assuring the world that the Greek missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, were orthodox and defending these missionaries against charges of error in doctrine. John's stout defense of Methodius leaves the impression that Rome felt that one of the gravest problems facing a missionary in a newly converted land was that of transmitting a sound body of Christian doctrine.[49] The whole body of papal writing relative to the question of doctrinal orthodoxy touched only a few topics—the *filioque* question, the nature of clerical life, and the propriety of utilizing unique liturgical practices. The importance which the papacy attached to the controversy demonstrates, however, that the West felt that newly won Christians must be instructed with great care in doctrinal matters before the conversion process could be completed.

An even greater amount of attention was given by Carolingian writers on missionary affairs to the problem of instituting practices of worship and discipline among new converts. This theme is so ever-present in missionary discussions that one is forced to conclude that the Carolingian age was far more concerned with the outward behavior of new Christians than with their appreciation of the subtleties of Christian doctrine. Here, too, the popes supply the bulk of evidence revealing Carolingian attitudes toward the question of educating new converts to conduct themselves according to Christian rules. Especially revealing are the letters of several popes of the first half of the eighth century to Boniface and a long set of instruc-

[48] Cf. Nicholas, *Ep.* 99-100, edited by Perels, *MGH*, Ep., VI, 566-609; *Liber pontificalis*, edited by L. Duchesne (Paris, 1886-1892), II, 164-165; John VIII, *Fragmenta Registri*, 7, 37, edited by Ericus Caspar, *MGH*, Ep., VII, 277-278, 294-295; John VIII, *Registrum*, 66, 182, 192, 193, 298, 308, *ibid.*, pp. 58-60, 146, 153-154, 158-159, 260 266-267.

[49] For the activities of Hadrian and John VIII in this connection, cf. *Vie de Méthode*, c. 8-13, in F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), pp. 387-391; John VIII, *Fragmenta Registri*, 15-16, 20-23, edited by Caspar, *MGH*, Ep., VII, 281, 283-286; John VIII, *Registrum*, 200-201, 255, 276, *ibid.*, 160-161, 222-224, 243-244; *Vita s. Clementis Bulgarorum archiepiscopi*, c. 5-6, Migne, *PG*, CXXVI, 1201-1208.

tions despatched by Nicholas I in 866 to Boris of Bulgaria. It must be noted that in both of these cases the papal directives were provoked by a request for guidance from the actual missionary scene. Thus, these papal writings are not exactly theoretical considerations of what should be done in missionary areas to perfect the practices of worship and the conduct of daily life among converts. However, the very fact that information would be sought at Rome, where there was probably only a limited knowledge of actual conditions in the missionary field, suggests that the Carolingian era was aware of the existence of a broad concept of treating Christians whose pattern of conduct was not completely satisfactory, and that the papacy was best fitted to interpret it in specific cases.

A review of papal writings[50] on this score shows that missionary theorists were concerned throughout the Carolingian period with a definite group of liturgical and disciplinary questions. Missionaries were to strive to end all traces of paganism, including those which tended to slip into religious practice under the guise of Christian worship. The worship of old gods, respect for old shrines, trust in omens, reliance on lots, resort to pagan healing practices, the continued use of ancient insignia and pagan incantations, to mention only a few of the chief items discussed, were all to be extirpated from the lives of new converts. The missionaries were expected to impose on the converts new marriage practices; it was held to be especially important that the Christian usages concerning the degree of blood relationship be respected and that adultery and sexual promiscuity be prohibited. The converts should be taught to respect the sanctity of churches and the privileges of the clergy, and they should learn how to dress for church and how to act when they were in attendance of ceremonies. They should likewise become acquainted with the liturgy, taught how to pray, how to assist at Mass, and how and when to receive the sacraments. Furthermore, they were to be acquainted with the whole idea of doing outward penance for their sins according to existing penitential practices, and to learn to accept the responsibility for supporting the Church financially. Obviously, these are the basic rudiments of an outward practice of

[50] The following paragraphs are based chiefly on Boniface, *Ep.* 24, 26, 28, 50-51, 80, 86-87, edited by Tangl, pp. 41-43, 44-47, 49-52, 80-92, 172-180, 191-201; and Nicholas, *Ep.* 99, edited by Perels, *MGH*, Ep., VI, 566-600. Pirmin's tract, *De singulis libris canonicis scarapsus*, Migne, *PL*, LXXXIX, 1029-1050, touches on almost exactly the same ideas and thus corroborates these letters.

Christianity; one may suspect that Carolingian writers of missionary practice felt that new converts could not be considered Christians until they had begun to conduct their outward lives within the framework of these fundamental practices. The real task of post-baptismal missionary labors was to aim for success on this level; to get the large numbers of converts to observe these bare essentials of Christian practice was a major undertaking, success in which would mark a real accomplishment and a long stride toward Christianization of ex-pagans.

There are hints in the papal letters, however, that missionaries were expected to begin to inculcate into the minds of recent converts ideas about how their new religion must affect their daily living in a more extensive way. Nicholas I expressed this concept more clearly than any other writer on missionary affairs. In his letter to King Boris he repeatedly expressed the idea that Boris and his people must learn to conduct their political life on a new plane. It was un-Christian, e.g., to treat slaves and fugitives as the Bulgars were accustomed to treat them, and Bulgar concepts of justice should be tempered by Christian ideas of mercy and charity. Familiar usages in war and diplomacy were to be abandoned for a new pattern of conduct. Nicholas sent his representatives into Bulgaria armed with a law code that would serve as a guide to the Christianization of the political life of the Bulgars. Behind all his remarks was the assumption that a convert must begin rather soon after his baptism to transform all has habits to fit Christian concepts of behavior. The Carolingian era was not entirely content to dismiss new converts with only a superficial acquaintance with the Christian ethic; missionaries were expected in due time to transform the new Christian's conduct and moral outlook completely.

A slightly different, and probably complementary, glimpse into Carolingian ideas on post-baptismal instruction in the realm of moral precepts can also be gleaned from the saints' lives. These biographies almost invariably contain a section devoted to the good deeds and the miracles performed by the missionaries. The accounts were always set in a definite context: the biographer tried to make the point that the good deeds of his subject exercised a tremendous influence on the new converts, teaching them by example a great deal about the ideal Christian way of life. Whether most of these accounts are reliable is extremely doubtful, but they do supply an excellent picture of what the author and his readers thought an ideal missionary would

try to do among his newly baptized followers as a means of improving the quality of religious life of new Christians.

The missionaries—as reflected in the idealized descriptions of their personal relationships with their new charges—were expected to educate the converts in a relatively few but highly important ethical concepts. The typical missionary was always quick to lead his flock to think of God in times of crisis, thus conditioning each convert to trust completely in divine power to guard him from danger and to become a creature of abiding faith under all circumstances. Most of the missionaries even came back from the grave to aid their former charges and convince them that they had intercessors before God, thereby further encouraging a complete trust in God. The saints' lives are full of accounts of missionaries aiding the sick. These incidents reflect the Carolingian idea that new converts must be taught the virtue of mercy. The missionaries were pictured in the saints' lives as giving freely to the poor; by these acts they were teaching charity, without which no man could be a Christian in the Carolingian age. The saints were seen to bring comfort to those who were full of terror, to console the criminals, to answer violence with forgiveness, to demonstrate their faith by standing fearless in the face of death and danger, and to support the weak against the strong. They everlastingly demonstrate their contempt for the flesh and the material world by undergoing extreme hardships and deprivation. In short, Carolingian missionary thought seems to have assumed that as soon as possible after baptism attempts should be made to inspire the new convert to practice mercy, charity, trust in God, justice, and forgiveness, especially wherever these virtues might alleviate the lot of the unfortunate in their society.[51]

Although post-baptismal instruction in doctrinal, ethical, and liturgical matters was vital to successful missionary work, Carolingian society always presumed that one more step was also absolutely

[51] For examples of this, cf. Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii*, c. 35-39, edited by Waitz, pp. 66-74; Liudger, *Vita Gregorii*, c. 13, edited by Holder-Egger, *MGH*, SS, XV, 77-78; Rudolph of Fulda, *Vita Leobae*, c. 13-16, ed. by Holder-Egger, *MGH*, SS, XV, 127-129; Lupus, *Vita Wigberti*, c. 13, ff, edited by Holder-Egger, *MGH*, XV, 41-42; *Vita Willehadi*, c. 9-11, edited by Poncelet, *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov., III, 845-846; *Vitae Pirminii, passim*, edited by de Smedt, *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov., II, 34-47; Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*, c. 14-31, edited by Levison, *MGH*, SS. rer. Merov., VII, 127-138; Altfrid, *Vita Liudgeri*, Lib. I, c. 25-32; Lib. II, *passim*, edited by Diekamp, pp. 30-53.

necessary. Seldom did anyone say much about the need to institute a definite ecclesiastical organization in newly converted areas. Nonetheless, the actions of nearly every missionary and of nearly all agencies even remotely connected with missionary work demonstrate clearly that no one would have thought a missionary venture concluded until an ecclesiastical organization had been completed.

The present study has no space for a lengthy examination of the establishment of an organization in all the lands won over to Christianity during the Carolingian period. Suffice it to say that the record strongly suggests that missionary work was seldom undertaken without the eventual organization of converts in mind. The search for missionary priests went on incessantly, and almost always this search was for priests to serve among those who already had become Christians.[52] Bishoprics were created at the earliest possible moment and capable men were sought out to occupy the new sees, as a study of the careers of St. Boniface and St. Methodius, or of the history of the Archbishoprics of Hamburg and Salzburg would illustrate.[53]

[52] For typical examples of the attention given to recruiting missionary priests, cf. Boniface, *Ep.* 42, 80, edited by Tangl, pp. 67, 178, Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, c. 6, edited by Levison, p. 34; Rudolph of Fulda, *Vita Leobae*, c. 9-10, edited by Holder-Egger, *MGH*, SS, XV, 125; Lupus, *Vita Wigberti*, c. 2, edited by Holder-Egger, *MGH*, SS, XV, 39; Nun of Heidenheim, *Vita Wynnebaldi*, c. 4, edited by Holder-Egger, *MGH*, SS, XV, 109; Liudger, *Vita Gregorii*, c. 2, 8, edited by Holder-Egger, *MGH*, SS, XV, 67-68, 73; Nun of Heidenheim, *Vita Willibaldi*, c. 5, ed. Holder-Egger, *MGH*, SS, XV, 104; Eigilis, *Vita Sturmi*, c. 2, edited by Pertz, *MGH*, II, 366, Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*, c. 9, edited by Levison, *MGH*, SS. rer. Merov., VII, 124; Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii*, c. 7-9, 12, 14-15, edited by Waitz, pp. 27, 30-31, 33-34, 36-37; *Liber pontificalis*, edited by Duchesne, II, 164-165, 185; Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Epistolae sive Praefationes*, 5, edited by E. Perels and G. Laehr, *MGH*, Ep., VII, 412; *De conversione Bag. et Carant. libellus*, c. 1-14, edited by Wattenbach, *MGH*, SS, XI, 1-14; Altfrid, *Vita Liudgeri*, Lib. I, c. 22, edited by Diekamp, pp. 25-27; *Vita Willehadi*, c. 5, edited by Poncelet, *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov., III, 843-844; Alcuin, *Ep.* 111, edited by Dümmler, *MGH*, Ep., IV, 159-162.

[53] For Boniface the essential sources are *Ep.* 12, 16, 18, 28, 44-45, 50-53, edited by Tangl, pp. 17-18, 28-29, 31-33, 50, 70-74, 80-95; Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, c. 5, ff, edited by Levison, pp. 18, ff. Cf. Theodor Schieffer, *Winifred-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas* (Freiburg, 1954); Joseph Lortz, *Bonifatius und die Grundlegung des Abendlandes* (Wiesbaden, 1954); *Sankt Bonifatius. Gedenkgabe zum zwölfhundertsten Todestag*, hrsg. von der Stadt Fulda in Verbindung mit den Diözesen Fulda und Mainz (Fulda, 1954); Maurice Coens, "S. Boniface et sa mission historique d'apres quelques auteurs recents," *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXXIII (1955), 462-495; J. Gottschalk, "Die

The actions of laymen show that the pressure to organize converted lands was not merely an ecclesiastical aim.[54] Missionary biographers almost invariably ascribed to their heroes the attainment of an episcopal office, treating this advance as if it were a necessary part of missionary work, and not a reward for good work. A typical manifestation of this spirit emerged in those cases where a missionary refused to accept a promotion to an established diocese, but then accepted a missionary see out of a realization that his mission would not be fulfilled until the hierarchy had been completed.[55] No one had to write a tract urging the Christian world of the eighth and ninth centuries to pay heed to the problem of organization; everyone assumed that this was an integral part of missionary work.

The creation of an episcopal structure marked in Carolingian thought the culmination of missionary effort, beyond which no special

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Bonifatius-Literatur von 1923-1950," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens,* LXII (1950), 237-246, for recent considerations of Boniface's work in organizing Europe. For Methodius, cf. *Vie de Méthode,* c. 5-12, edited by Dvornik, pp. 385-390; John VIII, *Registrum,* 200-201, 255, 276, edited by Caspar, *MGH,* Ep., VII, 160-161, 222-224, 243-244; John VIII, *Fragmenta Registri,* 15-16, 20-23, edited by Caspar, *MGH,* Ep., VII, 280-281, 283-286; *Vita s. Clementis,* c. 7-10, Migne, *PG,* CXXVI, 1208-1213. Helpful in dealing with Methodius' career are two books by F. Dvornik, *Les slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX^e siècle* (Paris, 1926), and *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933). For the missionary role of Hamburg, cf. especially, Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii,* edited by Waitz, *passim;* Migne, *PL,* CXVIII, 1035-1036; CXIX, 876-879, 962; Nicholas, *Ep.* 26, edited by Perels, *MGH,* Ep., VI, 291-292; Stephen, *Epistolae passim collectae, quotquot ad res Germanicas spectant,* 2, 5, edited by G. Laehr, *MGH,* 358-359, 364-365; Formosus, *Ep.* 1-3, edited by Laehr, *MGH,* Ep., VII, 366-370; Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hamburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum,* c. 1-53, Migne, *PL,* CXLVI, 457-495. For Salzburg, cf. *De conversione Bag. et Carant. libellus,* edited by Wattenbach, *MGH,* SS, XI, 1-14; Alcuin, *Ep.* 107, 112-113, edited by Dümmler, *MGH,* Ep., IV, 153-154, 162-166; *MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum,* I, 211, edited by Engilbertus Mühlbacher, pp. 282-283.

[54] For Pepin of Heristal and Utrecht, cf. Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi,* c. 7, edited by Levison, *MGH,* SS. rer. Merov., VII, 122; Bede, *Hist. eccl.,* V, c. 11, edited by Plummer, pp. 301-305. For Charlemagne and Louis and the Saxon bishoprics, cf. the sources cited by H. Wiedemann, *Die Sachsenbekehrung* (Münster i. W., 1932), and Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (3 and 4 ed., Leipzig, 1887-1920), II, 399-424, 696-700. For Louis the Pious and Louis the German and Hamburg, and for Charlemagne and Salzburg, cf. the sources cited in note 53, above.

[55] *Vita secunda s. Liudgeri,* Lib. I, c. 17, edited by Diekamp, p. 62.

thought needed to be given to the question of the progress of Christianity in newly converted areas. The above investigations leave no doubt that missionary problems evoked considerable thought during the Carolingian period. Probably the ideas expressed by the theorists were never applied fully in the conduct of missionary work, and a study of the missionary record of the Carolingian period would certainly reveal some major aberrations. The frequent recurrence of most of the ideas, however, compels one to accept the wide currency of definite principles of good missionary practice in the Carolingian period. Missionary work was not, at least in theory, merely a matter of brutally compelling pagans to accept the new religion. Many figures were deeply aware of the significant transformation that needed to be worked out to bring about a true conversion from paganism to Christianity and were intent on discovering the means necessary to bring about that transformation. It would be surprising if at least some of these ideas did not influence the conduct of the missionaries themselves and of those who lent their support to missionary efforts.

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THE CHURCH OF SILENCE IN COMMUNIST POLAND

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The current Polish government does not recognize the fundamental western principle of a dual sovereignty—that of the Church[2] in spiritual matters and that of the State in temporal affairs. The communists consider that their authority alone should embrace the totality of human experience. The regime's objective, therefore, never has been merely the separation of Church and State in Poland but a complete elimination of the Church and religion from the lives of the people under its control. Achievement of this aim requires a definite policy of isolation from the Vatican's influence, creation of public opinion antagonistic toward the centralized and universal aspect of the Church, and provocation of antagonisms within the Church itself by replacing *bona fide* religious leaders with persons willing to compromise.

The position of the Catholic Church in the Poland of 1956 is paradoxical. Probably never in modern times has its hold over the Polish people been stronger, but never has its position been more precarious. Not only is the percentage of the population large enough to make it the religion of almost all Poles in the statistical sense, but it is also the people's real religion. The "crowded churches testify to the continued vitality of the Roman Catholic faith to which the majority of the Poles are attached. . . ."[3]

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[2] The word "Church" is capitalized throughout to denote the Roman Catholic Church, since almost ninety-eight per cent of the Polish population officially belongs to that faith. *Trybuna ludu* [People's Tribune] (Warsaw), March 8, 1950.

The remaining religious groups had approximate memberships as follows:

Greek Orthodox	150,000
Jews	50,000
Methodists	50,000
Baptists	20,000
Others	30,000
Total	300,000

Christlicher Nachrichten Dienst (Berlin), March 20, 1950; as cited by Peter H. Seraphim, *Ostdeutschland und das Heutige Polen* (Braunschweig, 1953), p. 43. The source for the number of Jews is the New York *Times*, May 17, 1956.

[3] William H. Chamberlin, "Restive Satellite," *Wall Street Journal*, May 31, 1956. Cf. also pertinent excerpts from the address by Archbishop Jozef

I

The communist rulers of Poland are making a continuous attempt to influence this overwhelmingly Catholic population by a combination of means. They are creating an *avante garde* of "progressive" priests who collaborate closely with the regime at the same time that the remainder of the clergy is being accused of reactionary activities, lack of solidarity with the broad masses of the nation, and conspiracy with the Vatican. The aim is apparently to create a body of obedient priests who will bow to the will of the State. The other broad aspect in the communist penetration of the Church takes the form of several distinct organizations: the Polish Committee of Peace Partisans, the Catholic Social Club, and the Society of Children's Friends.

Efforts on the part of the communist government toward organizing a group of subordinate clergymen have actually achieved a small amount of success. An estimated 1,700 priests out of a total of about 11,000 have attended provincial conferences of the "progressives."[4] The majority of these come from among former prisoners in Nazi concentration camps, while some were chaplains in the Polish forces attached to the Red Army in World War II. In late 1949, Boleslaw Bierut (at the time president of communist Poland) held a reception at the Belweder Palace in Warsaw for those priests who were participating in a conference sponsored by the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZBoWiD-*Zwiazek Bojownikow o Wolnosc i Demokracje*].[5] Some of the priests remarked to Bierut

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Gawlina, spiritual leader of Poles abroad, at the Brompton Oratory in London as printed in the London *Tablet*, CCVII (April 28, 1956), 393; and Richard F. Staar, "Ten Years of the Polish 'People's' Republic," *American Mercury*, LXXXI (November, 1955), 133-137.

[4] Estimated on the basis of reports in the two Warsaw communist daily newspapers, *Slowo powszechne* [Universal Word] and *Trybuna ludu*, over the past few years. This does not mean, however, that the number of actual collaborators is that high. The latter has never passed the 300 mark, according to the Reverend Marian Wojcik in *Biuletyn* [Bulletin] of the Inter-Catholic Press Agency in New York, No. 3 (January 19, 1955), 6.

[5] ZBoWiD was created in September, 1949, as a result of fusion among eleven organizations for veterans and former German political prisoners, in order to combine "with the working class, peasant masses, and the whole

that the absence of an agreement between the hierarchy and the government made the work of the clergy more difficult. Bierut is reported to have stated in reply that the lack of a Church-State understanding was caused by

> . . . the unfavorable attitude of higher Church authorities toward the people's State. . . . In many cases one can hear from priests . . . words which are often simply criminal, anti-State.[6]

At this conference a so-called Commission of Priests attached to the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy was founded. Activities on a larger scale were not undertaken until February, 1950, when this group commenced the publication of a bi-weekly entitled *Ksiadz obywatel* [Citizen Priest], superseded in December, 1950, by *Kuznica kaplanska* [Priests' Forge]. These so-called patriot-priests enjoy special privileges, which have taken the form of preferential treatment at a time when other church property was being confiscated, government funds for the reconstruction of their church buildings, and consideration in the matter of taxes.

The patriot-priests, who were to create the nucleus of a schism (from all appearances) in the Catholic Church, are unpopular among the clergy as well as among the laymen. Their conferences, held in almost all provincial capitals for the purpose of gaining adherents, so far have not generated any widespread enthusiasm. The ZBoWiD Priests' Commission concentrated its activities on propagandizing support for the phony "peace" campaign and the government's protests against the remilitarization of West Germany. It also tried to convince the peasant masses that grain deliveries were just, called on other priests to use their authority in support of the State's planned economy, and declared the 1952 communist constitution to be compatible with both moral principles and the Christian conscience.

The greatest achievement to date of the patriot-priests was the sponsorship of a conference at Wroclaw (Breslau) in former German

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nation to fight and work toward permanent independence, people's democracy, and peace." Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza, *Kalendarz robotniczy na 1950 rok* [Workers' Almanac for 1950] (Warsaw, 1949), pp. 94-95; henceforth cited as *Kalendarz robotniczy* (1950). The ZBoWiD issued a bi-weekly organ called *Za wolnosc i lud* [For Freedom and the People]. The organization claimed 400,000 members according to *Trybuna ludu*, June 23, 1952.

[6] *Slowo powszechne*, September 1, 1949.

Silesia under the slogan, "Defense of the Western Territories."[7] This call was so popular that the conference assembled a reported 1,550 participants—priests and Catholic lay workers. Apart from the local capitular vicar, no representative of the hierarchy attended. The conference adopted a resolution upholding Poland's right to the Oder-Neisse Line against Germany's revisionist border claims.

If it really were the aim of the communist government to exploit the patriot-priests in an effort to split the unity of the Church, to date this goal has not been attained. Recognition of failure in this particular area apparently motivated the regime to dissolve the Priests' Commission attached to ZBoWiD and to issue a directive that "all forces" should be integrated with the movement of peace partisans.[8] Such a situation does not signify, however, that the communists have given up their attempts to create a breach in the almost solid front of the Catholic Church in Poland.

This atmosphere of continuous conflict and contradiction in the Poland of 1956 contributes to the variety of motives which directs the activities of the patriot-priests. Some of these motives are probably to be found in personal ambition, the attraction of social reforms, fear of the accusation that the clergy refuses to participate in the national reconstruction, the influence of psychological complexes dating back to World War II, etc. However, the greatest role and, perhaps, the decisive one is played by the problem of the Polish administered territories (see map) and the danger of a German *revanche*.[9]

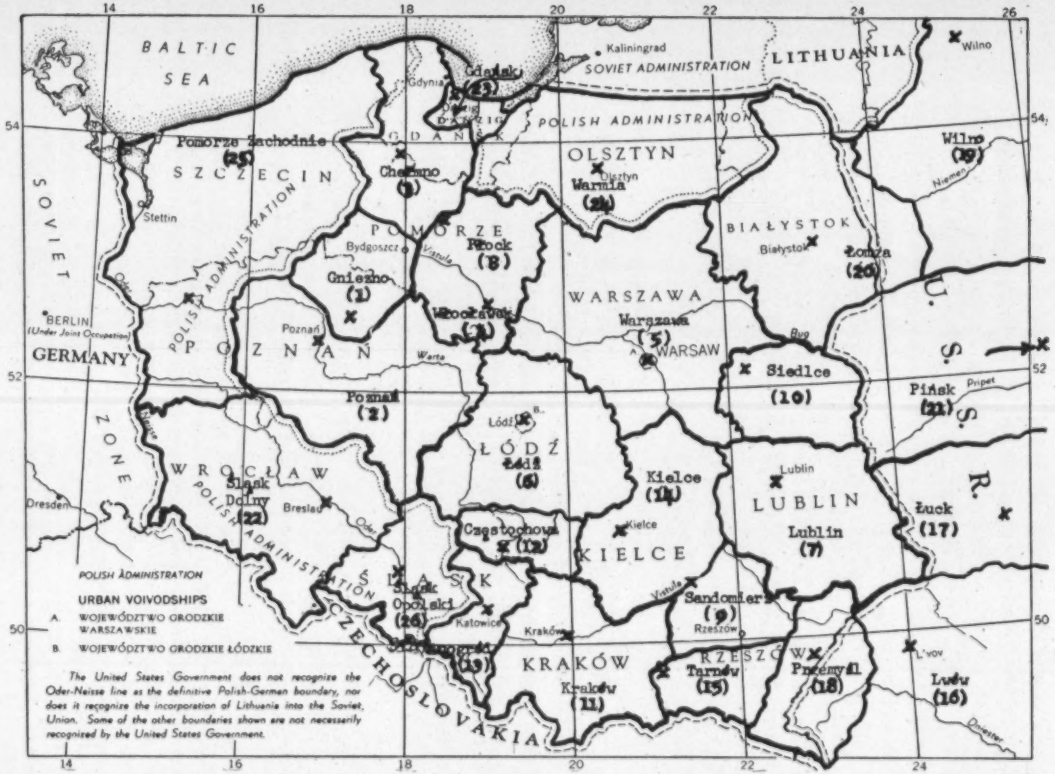
Another vehicle for mobilizing both clergy and lay Catholics toward co-operation with the communist political program was the Main Commission of Intellectuals and Catholic Activists [*Glowna*

[7] These areas are also called the "recovered territories" [*ziemie odzyskane*] by the Poles and refer to former German lands east of the Oder-Neisse Line which Communist Poland has annexed with USSR help and in violation of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. This annexation has not been recognized by the United States. For statistical data on the area, cf. Friedrich Hoffmann (Ed.), *Ostdeutschland* (Kitzingen am Main, 1950).

The conference referred to above was held at Wroclaw toward the end of 1951. *Trybuna ludu*, December 13, 1951. For a transcript of the speeches delivered there, cf., *Polska na zawsze zjednoczona* [Poland Forever United] (Warsaw, 1952).

[8] *Slowo powszechne*, July 15, 1955.

[9] Cf. the despatch by Sydney Gruson in the New York *Times*, May 19, 1956.



POLAND

DIOCESAN BOUNDARIES, 1956

x diocesan seat
——— 1956 diocesan boundaries
— — — 1950 International boundary or limit of administration
..... 1937 International boundary not now effective

0 50 100 Miles
0 50 100 Kilometers

—·—·— Voivodship boundary
⊙ National capital
○ Voivodship capital

Komisja Intelektualistow i Dzialaczy Katolickich] attached to the Polish Committee of Peace Partisans. Founded in 1950, it originally comprised members of the theological faculties at the Universities of Warsaw and Krakow, representatives from the Catholic University of Lublin,[10] and many laymen who were Catholic writers and active church workers. In November, 1950, this group participated in the second International (communist) Peace Congress held at Warsaw.

The Commission of Intellectuals and Catholic Activists began to play an increasingly influential role. At the beginning of 1951 it sponsored the first national conference of clergy and laymen representing Catholic public opinion.[11] The commission is a completely new type of organization, differing from all other Catholic groupings hitherto functioning in Poland. Including both clergy and laymen, its very name signifies that it comprises an elite. Its main objective is the integration of Polish Catholics into the "peace" campaign as well as the implementation of the "current Polish *raison d'état,*" with the greatest attention being paid to fulfilling the requirements of the Church in the fields of dogma, morality, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Such co-operation, on the basis of the Church-State agreement of 1950 (discussed in the second part of this article), is considered to be the principal duty of citizenship. The commission aims at introducing a new type of public activity for clergy and lay Catholics. It is attempting to become a school of thought and a

[10] The only Catholic institution of higher learning left in Poland, the Catholic University of Lublin [KUL-*Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski*], is being liquidated slowly by the communist regime. An official announcement appearing in the Warsaw periodical *Caritas* stated that KUL would operate only two departments—humanities and philosophy—during the 1955-1956 academic year. Quoted by the Free Europe Committee's *Wiadomosci o zyciu w Polsce* [News on Life in Poland], No. 38 (September 19, 1955), 2.

Restrictions have also been imposed upon the training of priests. Since 1952 a total of fifty-nine seminaries have been closed in Poland according to Monsignor Maurice S. Sheehy, "Communism Still Wars on Religion," *Congressional Record,* CII (April 11, 1956), A-2937.

[11] *Trybuna ludu,* January 31, 1951. Together with the Peace Partisans' Committee, the commission helped to collect over eighteen million Polish signatures to the Stockholm (World Peace Council) manifesto. *Ibid.,* June 6, 1951. A similar campaign in 1955 reportedly obtained almost twenty million signatures (from a total population estimated at 26,500,000) to the "Vienna Appeal" against atomic bomb production. *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy* [Cominform Journal] (Bucharest), May 13, 1955.

center for the formulation of principles pertaining to the behavior of Catholics, i.e., it tries to mold public opinion. The commission takes a definite stand against the trend called "absolute apolitical behavior," considering it impossible to remain a passive observer of life.

The chairman of the commission, the Reverend Professor Jan Czuj, a pro-regime priest who was also dean of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Warsaw, has emphasized the benefits flowing from all collaboration between the clergy and laymen on the one hand and the communist government on the other.[12] He has indicated that such co-operation would lead to a deepening of the *sensus Catholicus,* which it is imperative that no Catholic lose in any public appearance. The activities of these pro-regime Catholics, similarly to those of the Priests' Commission attached to the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, takes place within the over-all framework of the government's struggle for "peace." It is also principally concentrated on defense of the recovered territories, i.e., on protests against the remilitarization and border revisionist tendencies of West Germany.[13]

One of the conferences called by the Commission of Intellectuals and Catholic Activists took place at Lublin, and in part at Majdanek, where the Nazis murdered two million Jews from twenty different countries in Europe. This conference sent out an appeal to the representatives of Catholic thought in the nations whose sons had lost their lives in Nazi concentration camps.[14] The appeal emphasized that the authority of the Catholic Church in the West German Republic was being exploited for anti-Polish purposes. Revisionist statements of the German clergy, especially those of Josef Cardinal Frings, Archbishop of Köln, are being watched very closely by Polish public opinion.

[12] "Krajowa konferencja intelektualistow i dzialaczy katolickich" [National Conference of Intellectuals and Catholic Activists] in *Dzis i jutro* [Today and Tomorrow] (Warsaw), February 12, 1951.

[13] "Na zjezdzie wroclawskim" [At the Wroclaw Conference], *Slowo powszechne,* October 2, 1951. A more recent national conference was held at Warsaw under the auspices of the commission, with participation of 300 delegates from all parts of Poland. "O pokojowe zalatwienie problemu niemieckiego" [For a Peaceful Solution of the German Problem], *Trybuna ludu,* April 30, 1953.

[14] *Trybuna ludu,* May 16, 1951.

The Commission of Intellectuals and Catholic Activists also manifested considerable activity in the parliamentary elections during the fall of 1952. At the very first meeting of the "people's front" national conference, the participation of Catholics in the pre-electoral campaign was definitely established.[15] Many appeals were issued by the commission urging all Catholics to take an active part in the balloting. Three reasons for supporting the communist regime were widely publicized: to strengthen the polonization of the recovered territories, to fulfill the six-year plan, and to counteract a new war as well as any disorders inside the country.

A basic postulate in the work of the Commission of Intellectuals and Catholic Activists is that its activity provides the Catholics with a voice in matters of importance to the nation as a whole. This is apparently an attempt to stand upon the achievements of the social revolution in Poland, connecting the latter with the Catholic *Weltanschauung*. At the time negotiations were in progress between the Church and the government (see the second part of this article) for the purpose of reaching an agreement, the semi-official organ of the Catholic Church wrote:[16]

> . . . Religion is becoming a purely private matter. In the whole collective field of the modern world, it is not Christ and the Church but Marx and socialism that have a voice. . . . The matter essentially comes down to what Polish socialism is like in the twentieth century. . . .
>
> It is a sad thing that such great differences have arisen. We want to see our brothers, the socialists and the communists, in one camp of believers in Christ—together with us. This will never cease to be the purpose of our prayers and efforts. . . .

The Commission of Intellectuals and Catholic Activists[17] is still attempting to breach this gap between the Catholic population of Poland and the communists. One of its spokesmen, Dominik

[15] *Ibid.*, September 10, 1952.

[16] Stanislaw Wawrzyn, "Stanowisko grupy Dzis i Jutro" [Position of the "Today and Tomorrow" Group], *Przeglad powszechny* [Universal Review] (Warsaw), March 25, 1949.

[17] The name of this organization was changed on October 15, 1953, to National Commission of Priests and Lay Activists [*Krajowa Komisja Duchownych i Swieckich Dzialaczy Katolickich*] attached to the All-Polish People's Front Committee. This occurred only two weeks after the arrest and imprisonment of the primate, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, by the communists.

Horodynski, recently urged in a parliamentary speech that the government recognize the following "facts":

Millions of religious Poles are "selflessly building socialism and view it as their own system."

Experience has shown that non-believers as well as believers can be "enemies of socialism."

The Polish revolution has produced a broad socially progressive Catholic movement.

Within the Polish Catholic community "a sharp struggle" over the cause of socialism exists between "old and new."[18]

Apart from the two organizations already described, there exists yet another small group that is unique because of its representation in the Polish parliament. It is known as the Catholic Social Club [KKS-*Klub Katolicko-Spoleczny*] and is headed by one Boleslaw Piasecki, pre-war founder in 1936 of the rightist *Falanga* youth movement. This man was arrested by the Soviet secret police in northeastern Poland toward the end of World War II and charged with anti-Russian partisan activities in the Wilno and Nowogrodek areas. He is reliably reported to have saved his life at this time in return for a promise of collaboration with the communists.[19] The aims of the Warsaw regime obviously are to use this group, which was founded in 1945, to break up Catholic Church unity in Poland. The communists also want people outside of Poland to believe that there is an area of genuine co-operation between the government and the Church. The Catholic Social Club allegedly constitutes proof that Catholic newspapers can be published freely (the KKS in June, 1956, was publishing only one paper, *Kierunki,* mentioned below, note 24) and that Catholicism has made its peace with the present realities in Poland. Actually, however, this group has only a very small amount of support from the population.

Witold Bienkowski, one of the six parliamentary deputies (total 444) from the Catholic Social Club, openly admitted that the interests of the Catholics could not be adequately defended by the KKS because the latter was not large enough.[20] He also acknowledged that *Tygodnik powszechny* [Universal Weekly] (published in Krakow

[18] New York *Times,* May 19, 1956.
[19] *L'Osservatore Romano,* June 29, 1955.
[20] *Slowo powszechne,* March 9, 1947.

by the Metropolitan Curia until its confiscation in March, 1953, and subsequent reactivation by the pro-regime Catholics) was very critical of the Catholic Social Club and that possibilities for the development of KKS were limited, due to the fact that the entire Catholic community was not represented in parliament. Bienkowski also admitted that the Catholic Social Club was supported by the communist regime and disclosed that KKS had disappointed some individuals who had been ready to co-operate passively with the government.

In order to justify the financial subsidies, which it receives from the regime, the Catholic Social Club has increased its efforts to create and publicize a theory designed to reconcile Catholicism with dialectical materialism. Previous efforts of this sort have seemed to be more of an attempt to justify publicly the opportunism of the authors rather than a studied effort to develop and proselytize a new dogma and, as such, have been conspicuously unsuccessful. In an article entitled "Our Guiding Principles," Boleslaw Piasecki formulated the objective of his group as being the liberation of the Catholic community "from the bonds by which it had been linked with the perishing world." A second task mentioned in this connection was the ideological campaign in the press "to safeguard the Polish nation from subversion," presumably directed against representatives of the Vatican. The article continued:

> . . . The creation of a theoretical and practical form for participation of faithful Catholics in the contemporary socialist revolution constitutes one of the basic objectives of our recent activities.
>
> We are linked with the revolutionary camp, not only by the call of contemporary *raison d'état*, not merely by conviction of the usefulness of liberating the world from capitalism, but also because we are convinced of the necessity of establishing a socialist economic and social structure. . . .[21]

There are certain similarities between the policy of Stanislaw Mikolajczyk's former Polish Peasant Party (1945-1947) and that of Piasecki's group. Both individuals sought to establish a *modus*

[21] *Dzis i jutro*, November 26, 1950. Cf. also the manifesto published by this group and signed by a certain Andrzej Micowski, "Czwarta rocznica porozumienia kosciola z panstwem" [Fourth Anniversary of the Church-State Agreement], *ibid.*, April 14, 1954; as well as the latest statement of policy by Piasecki himself in "Ideologiczna dynamika wydarzen miedzynarodowych" [Ideological Dynamics of International Events], *Slowo powszechne*, June 29, 1955.

vivendi. The principal difference is that the peasants did not then and do not now wish to participate in the process of communization. They attempted to conserve their class and to arrive at a compromise by entering into a coalition with the communists and later by becoming a legal parliamentary opposition party. Mikolajczyk was crushed because he would not adapt himself to the communist dictatorship. Boleslaw Piasecki[22] has followed a different path. He abstains from the responsibilities of government, in which he probably would not be allowed to take part, but at the same time tries to make his influence felt among the Catholic masses.

Whatever his true motives may be, Piasecki has been recognized as sufficiently dangerous for the Vatican to issue a decree[23] condemning his newspaper *Dzis i jutro* as well as his book *Zagadnienia istotne* [Vital Problems], published by "Pax" at Warsaw in 1954. The editorial discussing this decree stated in part that Piasecki "has made himself the defender of a perfect agreement between Catholics and communists in the political-social field, but in reality he is a promoter of the total surrender of Catholics to communism."[24]

More dangerous than the activities directed against the adult population by the "progressive" Catholics are those instigated by the regime itself in its effort to capture the minds of the youth. This goal is being sought by means of an intensive campaign of indoctrination. Prior to 1939 many of Poland's schools were operated by the Catholic Church. In 1946 only one-fourth of the 160 then still exist-

[22] The increasing importance attached to Piasecki by the communists can be seen from the fact that he was among a few "official government guests" at the national harvest festival held in Warsaw. *Trybuna ludu*, September 19, 1955. During the preceding month, he had been invited to the Belweder Palace for a conference with five members of the Politburo. Cf. Richard F. Staar, "The Political Bureau of the United Polish Workers' Party," *American Slavic and East European Review*, XV (April, 1956), 206-215.

[23] Suprema Sacra Congregatio S. Officii, "Decretum proscriptio libri et prohibitio ephemeridum, die 8 Junii 1955," *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, No. 9-10 (June 24-27, 1955), 455.

[24] "La necessità di due condanne," *L'Osservatore Romano*, June 29, 1955. Cf. also *ibid.*, November 10, 1955. On May 20, 1956, a new paper entitled *Kierunki* [Directions] made its first appearance in Warsaw. It replaces *Dzis i jutro* and *Tygodnik powszechny* as the official organ of the "progressive" Catholics. Obviously a mere change in name, with retention of the same editorial board, does not in any way acknowledge the Vatican decree which, incidentally, was never made public by the communists.

ing private schools were sponsored by the Church.[25] By 1950 there was none. The communist regime effected this reduction by simply refusing to issue the necessary operating permits to the Catholic schools when they applied for them.[26] The government began sponsoring its own system of private schools which ban religious instruction from their curricula.

Created in 1949 as a fusion of former socialist and peasant organizations bearing the same name, the Society of Children's Friends (TPD-*Towarzystwo Przyjaciol Dzieci*) operates not only primary and secondary schools but also teachers' colleges, dormitories, recreation centers, theaters, and other projects in conjunction with the Ministry of Enlightenment. All of the TPD institutions attempt to instill atheism and avowedly aim at bringing up the younger generation as firm supporters of the communist regime. The Society of Children's Friends has been officially described as a mass social organization "uniting all of those who desire to co-operate with the people's state in the field of educating the younger generation."[27] The basic task of TPD is claimed to be that of bringing up in the schools and educational institutions universally developed individuals "whose character is soundly based upon thorough knowledge and upon the strong foundations of a scientific (i. e., Marxist) outlook on the world, free of all prejudice and superstition (i. e., religion)."[28]

Already during the 1949-1950 school year a total of 577 schools were being operated by the Society of Children's Friends. The enrollment in these institutions was 150,000 for the same period. Other TPD operations included 376 recreation halls, six mobile puppet theaters, 2,000 rural summer kindergartens for some 80,000 children, the placement of 113,000 youths in summer camps, twenty-eight orphanages for 3,000 children, as well as 150 nurseries in rural areas for 4,500 infants, and 125 mother and child medical centers.[29] The Polish communists boasted that the year 1952 brought with it a substantial increase in the number of TPD institutions. In the few years that they had been active, TPD schools were claimed to have

[25] *Christian Science Monitor,* September 5, 1946.

[26] Stefan Bialas, *Organizacja szkolnictwa w Polsce* [Organization of Education in Poland] (Krakow, 1950), pp. 111-112.

[27] *Kalendarz robotniczy* (1951), p. 323.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.* (1950), pp. 96-97. No later figures could be found, and this may be an indication that the TPD program has not been successful due to resistance by the Polish people.

. . . attained the confidence and respect of the working class, become dear to all who desire the education of the [future] builders of socialism. . . TPD schools ideologically are the closest to the working class.[30]

It is highly probable that in time the Society of Children's Friends will attempt to spread its anti-religious philosophy throughout the entire educational system of communist Poland. In line with such an aim, a suggestion already has been made by the pro-regime Piasecki group that all religious teaching be removed from the public schools and that special halls be built near each school where priests could provide instruction.[31]

II

In spite of the unwavering support which it enjoys among the great majority of the Polish population, the Catholic Church in that country is engaged today in a struggle for its very existence. This is above all a struggle for the minds of the youth in Poland.[32] In this field, as indicated in the foregoing, the Church is most vulnerable. However, even government restrictions upon the Church itself have been extensive and have resulted in the loss of much landed property, severe limitations on charitable activities, and regime control over vital statistics. The most important legislation affecting the wealth of the Church was passed in the spring of 1950,[33] only a few weeks before the signing of the agreement between Church and State. This law provided for the nationalization of all land in possession of the Church with the exception of that used by parish priests for their own subsistence. Farms retained by an individual clergyman, however, could not exceed fifty hectares (about 123.5 acres). The remaining land together with all buildings, enterprises, and livestock to be found upon it was expropriated by the State without compensation. The income

[30] *Ibid.* (1952), p. 319.

[31] New York *Times*, May 19, 1956.

[32] Cf. Richard F. Staar, "Regimentation of Youth in Satellite Poland," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, XXXVII (June, 1956), 7-19.

[33] "Ustawa z dnia 20 marca 1950 roku o przejeciu przez panstwo dobr martwej reki, poreczeniu proboszczom posiadania gospodarstw rolnych i utworzeniu funduszu koscielnego" [Law of March 20, 1950 on Nationalization by the State of Surplus Property, Guaranteeing to Parish Priests the Possession of Farms and Creation of a Church Fund], *Dziennik ustaw rzeczypospolitej polskiej* [Journal of Laws of the Polish Republic], No. 9 (March 23, 1950); henceforth cited as *Dziennik ustaw*.

from such "surplus" property was to be placed in a Church Fund for religious and charitable purposes.

All of these provisions were subject to expansion and contraction in scope by decision of the Ministerial Council (*rada ministrow*). Some of the nationalized property could be left in the hands of a religious institution to use and administer, providing the Council of Ministers so decreed. Since the law could be subjected to considerable manipulation on both local and national levels, without additional legal implementation, it is almost impossible to judge on the basis of the provisions alone how the law may have operated in practice.[34]

This statute is but one example of how every aspect of religious life in Poland today is affected by Church- State relations. The major post-war document formalizing these rather tense relations and allegedly establishing a *modus vivendi* is the agreement signed in April, 1950, between these two organizations.[35] This document is particularly important in view of the fact that the 1925 concordat, which had in the past regulated the activities of the Catholic Church in Poland, was declared void in a resolution of the Ministerial Council.[36] The official reason given for this action was that the Vatican had allegedly violated the concordat by favoring Germany in World War II. Im-

[34] Very few monographs have appeared on religion in Eastern Europe. Poland is treated in parts of the following books, as indicated: Gary MacEoin, *The Communist War on Religion* (New York, 1951), pp. 188-214; Lino Gussoni and Aristede Brunello, *The Silent Church* (New York, 1954), pp. 63-108; and Vladimir Gsovski (Ed.), *Church and State Behind the Iron Curtain* (New York, 1955), pp. 159-252.

Neither the first nor the second of these volumes is very well documented, whereas the last book contains not only excellent footnotes but also a compendium of translated laws and a good general survey.

[35] "Protokol wspolnej komisji rzadu rzeczypospolitej i episkopatu w zwiazku z zawarciem porozumienia" [Protocol of the Joint Commission Representing the Government of the Republic and the Episcopate in Connection with the Achievement of an Understanding] in Henryk Swiatkowski, *Stosunek panstwa do kosciola w roznych krajach* [Attitude of the State toward the Church in Different Countries] (Warsaw, 1952), pp. 132-137.

[36] *L'Osservatore Romano,* September 25, 1945. This declaration has never been made public in the official Polish journal of laws *Dziennik ustaw.* It can be found, however, in "Uchwala rzadu rzeczypospolitej z 12 wrzesnia 1945 roku stwierdzajace ze konkordat przestal obowiazywac" [Resolution by the Government of the Republic on September 12, 1945, Declaring the Concordat Void], Swiatkowski, *op. cit.,* pp. 116-117. The original concordat had been signed on February 10, 1925.

mediately following that war Church-State relations in Poland were regulated officially by certain articles of the 1921 constitution. Even those, however, were subject to dispute as to their interpretation. These articles were no longer listed as binding in an official 1948 handbook[37] issued by the government. Hence, prior to the 1950 agreement the Catholic Church in Poland actually operated in a legal vacuum. The so-called Little Constitution[38] did not touch upon the subject of religion at all, and the parliamentary declaration of the same year, which listed the basic rights and freedoms of citizenship, mentioned only guaranteeing "freedom of conscience and religion."[39]

From the beginning of 1948 until the signing of the agreement, anti-Catholic moves by the government formed a steady crescendo. At first, the only overt manifestations were a press campaign revolving around the allegedly Germanophile attitude of the Vatican and of the Polish hierarchy as well as a slight intensification in the slow campaign against religious education. There followed a number of arrests and trials of clergy[40] and a little later suppression of the newspaper *Tygodnik Warszawski* (Warsaw Weekly) published by the Archdiocese of Warsaw.

At this time (January, 1949), Archbishop Stefan Wyszynski became Primate of Poland upon the death of August Cardinal Hlond. The newly appointed leader of the Church apparently began to press for a renewal of negotiations with State authorities which had been started once before but were discontinued. Two months later a meeting took place between the secretary of the hierarchy, Zygmunt Choromanski, Auxiliary Bishop of Warsaw, and the Minister of Public Administration, Wladyslaw Wolski. Formal talks opened in a very unfavorable atmosphere, however, because the Vatican had just published a decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office ordering the excommunication of Catholics who actively supported communism.[41] The first

[37] Prezydium rady ministrow [Presidium of the Ministerial Council], *Rocznik polityczny i gospodarczy 1948* [Political and Economic Yearbook for 1948] (Warsaw, 1949), pp. 8-10; henceforth cited as *Rocznik polityczny* (1948).

[38] "Ustawa konstytucyjna z dnia 19 lutego 1947 roku o ustroju i zakresie dzialania najwyzszych organow rzeczypospolitej" [Constitutional Law of February 19, 1947, on the Organization and Sphere of Activities of the Highest Organs in the Republic], *Dziennik ustaw*, No. 18 (February 20, 1947).

[39] *Rocznik polityczny* (1948), p. 11.

[40] For a discussion of these trials cf. Stefan Rosada and Jozef Gwozdz, "Church and State in Poland," in Gsovski, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226.

[41] Vatican Radio, July 13, 1949. Note that the decree was actually issued on July 1, 1949, but that the official announcement came almost two weeks later.

reaction by the communist government of Poland to this decree appeared the day after the regime had announced its willingness to resume negotiations with the Church.[42] The government statement boded ill for the future of such talks, since it declared the papal excommunication order to be an act of interference in Polish internal affairs and that priests attempting to enforce the order would be punished by Polish law. To make certain that there would be a legal basis upon which such clergymen could be punished, the government issued a decree which created offenses new to criminal law.[43]

Despite these complications, a Church-State agreement was finally signed on April 14, 1950. It represented a compromise which appeared from the beginning to work more to the advantage of the government than that of the Church. Nevertheless, the Church's position has so deteriorated that in the middle of 1956 it presumably would regard the agreement as one with which the Church could be reasonably well content, if it were only observed by the communist regime. The agreement contained some provisions favorable to the Church, which bound the State to a definite set of rules. These were the following:

1. Recognition of the right to teach religion in schools. Authorities were to refrain from obstructing participation in religious observances outside the schools. Where schools are established or transformed into one excluding religion, parents will have the right to send their children to such schools where religion is taught.

2. The Catholic University of Lublin will be permitted to continue its activities as in the past.

3. Catholic organizations (together with the Sodalities of Saint Mary) will be allowed to function, although only after fulfilling the obligations established by a State decree on governing organizations.[44]

4. The Church will be able to conduct charity work and the teaching of religion within the framework of State regulations.

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[42] *Trybuna ludu*, July 28, 1949.

[43] "Dekret z dnia 5 sierpnia 1949 roku o ochronie wolnosci sumienia i wyznania" [Decree of August 5, 1949 on Preserving the Freedom of Conscience and Religion], *Dziennik ustaw*, No. 45 (August 6, 1949).

[44] These obligations were set forth in "Dekret z dnia 5 sierpnia 1949 roku o zmianie niektorych przepisow prawa o stowarzyszeniach" [Decree of August 5, 1949, on the Change in Certain Regulations of the Law on Organizations], *Dziennik ustaw*, No. 45 (August 6, 1949); and in the ordinance issued by the Minister of Public Administration implementing this decree, found in *ibid.*, No. 47 (August 20, 1949).

5. The Catholic Church press will enjoy the same rights, defined by statutes and ordinances, as do other publications.

6. Public worship in churches, traditional pilgrimages, and religious processions will not meet with obstacles.

7. Religious care in the armed forces, prisons and hospitals will be appropriately organized.

8. Monastic orders will have freedom to operate within the fields of their calling and in accordance with the laws of the State.[45]

In return for these "guarantees," the Church was compelled to make concessions which later became of inestimable value to the communist regime in its anti-Catholic propaganda campaign. The hierarchy gave assurances that it would:

1. Teach respect for the law and for State authority;

2. Call upon the faithful for an intensification of efforts to reconstruct the country and raise the standard of living;

3. Request the Vatican to change the Church administration in the recovered territories from temporary to permanent bishoprics, on the ground that these areas form an integral part of the Polish republic;

4. Oppose the revisionist and anti-Polish strivings of the German clergy;

5. Be guided by Polish *raison d'état*, with provision that in the fields of dogma, morality and Church jurisdiction, the pope is the highest authority for the Church;

6. Not to obstruct the spread of production co-operatives [collective farms] in the villages;

7. Condemn anti-State utterances and the utilization of religious feelings for anti-State purposes;

8. Combat underground activities, condemn and penalize clergymen guilty of participation in any anti-State campaign; and

9. Support all efforts to make peace permanent and oppose all tendencies to create war.[46]

These points were considerably softened in the actual document by extensive verbiage, each containing some modifying clause. Never-

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[45] "Porozumienie zawarte miedzy przedstawicielami rzadu rzeczypospolitej polskiej a episkopatem" [Agreement between Representatives of the Polish Government and the Episcopate], Swiatkowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-133.

[46] Swiatkowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-147.

theless, the tremendous anti-Catholic propaganda potentialities of the several concessions made by the hierarchy can readily be seen.[47]

During the past six years the campaign against the Church has gained new momentum. At the beginning of 1951 the government issued a declaration announcing that the temporary state of affairs instituted by the Vatican in the western territories annexed from Germany was a disruptive factor aiming against the interests of the State and was contrary to the will of the Polish people.[48] This announcement ordered the liquidation of the temporary ecclesiastical administration and the removal of apostolic administrators, appointed in August, 1945, by Cardinal Hlond, from these areas. A partial victory was achieved by the communists on this issue when, after a visit with President Bierut in early February, 1951, the primate, Archbishop Wyszynski, granted canonical jurisdiction to the newly appointed capitular vicars.[49]

In actual fact the change from temporary to permanent ecclesiastical administration in the Polish recovered territories (see map) was far from definitive, although it did represent a propaganda victory for the communist regime. The capitular vicars were not elected by the cathedral chapters in *bona fide* dioceses but by diocesan councils in temporary districts. Thus the administration of the Church over those areas was still not permanent. (As of June, 1956, the Vatican still had not redrawn diocesan boundaries to conform with *de facto* Polish national boundaries). This circumstance was made evident in late 1951 and again in 1952, when the whole problem came to the fore—though in a slightly different form. Toward the end of the year

[47] The government immediately established an Office for Denominational Affairs to handle Church matters. The organization of this important agency was outlined in "Uchwala rady ministrow z dnia 27 maja 1950 roku w sprawie tymczasowego statutu urzedu do spraw wyznan" [Resolution by the Council of Ministers of May 27, 1950, in the Matter of a Provisional Statute for the Office of Denominational Affairs], *Monitor polski* [*Polish Monitor*] (Warsaw), July 8, 1950.

Successive directors of this office have been the pre-war atheist, Antoni Bida (May, 1950 to September, 1954); the post-war ambassador to East Germany, Jan Izydorczyk (September, 1954 to April, 1955); and a hitherto unknown person, Marian Zygmanowski (April, 1955 to date).

[48] *Trybuna ludu*, January 28, 1951.

[49] *Tygodnik powszechny*, February 18, 1951. In his message to the faithful, the primate called upon them to recognize the new administrators as ecclesiastical superiors. This may have averted the possibility of a split among the clergy.

DIOCESAN INCUMBENTS, 1956

Name of Diocese	*Seat*	*Incumbents*
I. *Gniezno-Poznan Metropolitan Area*	Gniezno	Wyszynski, Stefan (m, c, i)
1. Gniezno (Arch.)	Gniezno	Wyszynski, Stefan (m, c, i) Baraniak, Antoni (a, i) Bernacki, Lucjan (vg, i)
2. Poznan	Poznan	Dymek, Walenty (o) Jedwabski, Franciszek (a) Marlewski, Franciszek (vg)
3. Chelmno	Pelpin	Kowalski, Kazimierz (o) Czaplinski, Bernard (a)
4. Wloclawek	Wloclawek	Pawlowski, Antoni (o) Korszynski, Franciszek (a)
II. *Warsaw Metropolitan Area*	Warsaw	Wyszynski, Stefan (m, c, i)
5. Warsaw (Arch.)	Warsaw	Wyszynski, Stefan (m, c, i) Majewski, Waclaw (a) Choromanski, Zygmunt (a)
6. Lodz	Lodz	Klepacz, Michal (o) Tomczak, Kazimierz (a, vg)
7. Lublin	Lublin	Kalwa, Piotr (o) Wilczynski, Tomasz (a) Stopniak, Piotr (vg)
8. Plock	Plock	Zakrzewski, Tadeusz (o) Dudziec, Piotr (a) Figielski, Stanislaw (vg)
9. Sandomierz	Sandomierz	Lorek, Jan (o)
10. Siedlce	Siedlce	Swirski, Ignacy (o) Jankowski, Marian (a)
III. *Krakow Metropolitan Area*	Krakow	*vacat*
11. Krakow (Arch.)	Krakow	Baziak, Eugeniusz (cv, i) Rospond, Stanislaw (a, i) Jop, Franciszek (cv) Wozny, Bonifacy (vg) *Huet, Stanislaw (vg)
12. Czestochowa	Czestochowa	Golinski, Zdzislaw (o) Czajka, Stanislaw (a)
13. Katowice	Katowice	Adamski, Stanislaw (o, i) Bednorz, Herbert (a, i) Bieniek, Juliusz (a, i)

DIOCESAN INCUMBENTS, 1956 (continued)

Name of Diocese	*Seat*	*Incumbents*
		*Piskorz, Jan (cv)
		*Kowolik, Piotr (vg)
		*Pruski, Wladyslaw (vg)
14. Kielce	Kielce	Kaczmarek, Czeslaw (o, i)
		Sonik, Franciszek (a, cv)
		Jaroszewicz, Jan (vg)
15. Tarnow	Tarnow	Stepa, Jan (o)
		Pekala, Karol (a)
IV. *Lwow Metropolitan Area*	Lwow	Baziak, Eugeniusz (m, i)
16. Lwow (Arch.)	Lwow	Baziak, Eugeniusz (m, i)
17. Luck	Luck	*vacat*
18. Przemysl	Przemysl	Barda, Franciszek (o)
		Tomaka, Wojciech (a, vg)
V. *Wilno Metropolitan Area*	Wilno	*vacat*
19. Wilno (Arch.)	Wilno	Suszynski, Wladyslaw (a, i)
		Reinys, Mieczyslaw (a, i)
		Sawicki, Adam (vg, i)
20. Lomza	Bialystok	Falkowski, Czeslaw (o)
		Moscicki, Aleksander (a)
		Roszkowski, Antoni (vg)
21. Pinsk	Pinsk	Niemira, Karol (o, i)
		Krzywicki, Michal (a, i)
VI. *Apostolic Administrations* (formerly German Dioceses)		
22. Slask Dolny	Wroclaw	*Lagosz, Kazimierz (cv)
		*Jablonski, Waclaw (vg)
23. Gdansk	Oliwa	Splett, Karol (o, i)
		Cymanowski, Jan (cv)
24. Warmia	Olsztyn	Zink, Wojciech (cv, i)
		*Biskupski, Stefan (cv)
25. Pomorze Zachodnie	Gorzow	Szelazek, Zygmunt (cv)
		*Klosowski, Eugeniusz (vg)
26. Slask Opolski	Opole	Kobierzycki, Emil (cv)
		Banach, Emil (vg)

NOTES:

a—Auxiliary bishop
c—Cardinal
cv—Capitular vicar
*—pro-regime patriot-priest
i—*impedito* (in prison or otherwise prevented from exercising office)
m—Metropolitan
o—Bishop ordinary
vg—Vicar general

1951 a mass meeting of patriot-priests, Catholic lay activists and other clergy who were pressured into attending took place at Wroclaw[50] to denounce the remilitarization of West Germany and German "revisionist" statements, and incidentally to attack once again the allegedly pro-German stand of the Catholic hierarchy in Poland as well as of the Vatican.

At approximately the same time an interview with the primate[51] elicited that, after the expulsion of the apostolic administrators by the communist regime, he was able to persuade the pope during a visit to Rome in the spring of 1951 to appoint Polish bishops in the recovered territories. This would probably have meant the installation of a Pole as bishop also at Gdansk (Danzig). Although with its renunciation of the 1925 concordat the communist government of Poland has no legal right to approve the nomination of bishops, in actual fact it does so[52] and even requires new appointees to take an oath of allegiance to the people's republic.

The regime seems finally to have accepted the Church's concession. At the end of 1952 Archbishop Wyszynski personally installed a permanent cathedral chapter for the Archdiocese of Wroclaw, composed entirely of prelates and canons having Polish nationality.[53] Anxiety on the part of the Church, revealed through these concessions, is undoubtedly the result of its fear for the future under the new 1952 communist constitution. Article 70 of that basic law provides for freedom of conscience and religion, without any safeguards for the Church in the future. It announces the separation of Church and State but provides no guarantees for the Church itself. Furthermore, this article declares that "the abuse of freedom of conscience and religion for purposes aiming against the interests of the people's republic of Poland is punishable."[54]

[50] *Trybuna ludu*, December 13, 1951; mentioned in the first part of this article.

[51] Reported in *Tygodnik powszechny*, December 16, 1951.

[52] *Trybuna ludu*, November 27, 1952.

[53] *Slowo powszechne*, June 3, 1952. In addition to the three pre-war German Dioceses of Breslau (Wroclaw), Danzig (Gdansk), and Allenstein (Olsztyn), there were introduced into Poland after World War II two other apostolic administrations that had formerly belonged to Germany: Oppeln (Opole) and Landsberg an der Warthe (Gorzow). See map.

[54] "Ustawa konstytucyjna z dnia 22 lipca 1952 roku, konstytucja polskiej rzeczypospolitej ludowej" [Constitutional Law of July 22, 1952, The Constitution of the Polish People's Republic], *Dziennik ustaw*, No. 33 (July 23, 1952).

The Catholic Church in consequence probably looks upon the 1950 Church-State agreement with its guarantees, imperfect as they may have been, as something to be returned to at considerable cost if necessary. The official ecclesiastical weekly[55] expressed its regret that the provisions contained in the agreement were not being incorporated into the constitution, the draft of which was then undergoing "public" discussion. A reply from the regime soon appeared in the form of an editorial,[56] fiercely attacking the Church, published by the communist party's official daily newspaper. The future of the Catholic Church under the new constitution would thus appear to be quite uncertain.

As already mentioned, one of the techniques used by the communists in their attempts to eliminate the influence of religion from the Polish society is that of weakening the organization of the Church by maneuvering into positions of authority persons who will subordinate themselves to the regime. A step in this direction was a decree[57] announced in early 1953 which in effect provides the communist government at Warsaw with the "legal" power to fill ecclesiastical posts. According to this decree, all ecclesiastical appointments must be sanctioned by the appropriate State authorities. In other words, any nomination, transfer, or release of a clergyman requires the consent of the State. Such measures as pertain to the offices of bishops, whether ordinaries or suffragans, require the permission of the government presidium, whereas lower level changes are approved by the presidia of respective provincial people's councils. Church authorities are no longer able to change or eliminate any posts or to alter their functions without prior permission of the government. All priests must also take an oath of loyalty to the State which reads as follows:[58]

[55] *Tygodnik powszechny,* March 16, 1952.

[56] *Trybuna ludu,* March 22, 1952.

[57] "Dekret rady panstwa z dnia 9 lutego 1953 roku o obsadzeniu stanowisk koscielnych" [Decree by the State Council of February 9, 1953 on Appointments to Church Positions], *Dziennik ustaw,* No. 10 (February 10, 1953).

[58] *Monitor polski,* May 13, 1953. A few days prior to the announcement of this oath, the Polish hierarchy submitted to Premier Boleslaw Bierut (the same man who had formerly been president) a statement protesting the regime's anti-Church campaign. This document is dated May 8, 1953, and it comprehensively reviews Church-State relations since the April 14, 1950, agreement. Although this protest was never published inside of Poland, a long reproduction of twenty-one pages in the Polish language is available in *Biuletyn,* No. 40 (October 7, 1953).

I solemnly swear to be loyal to the Polish people's republic and to its government. I promise to do all [in my power] toward the development of people's Poland and toward the strengthening of [Polish] power and security.

In accordance with my duties as a citizen [in my ecclesiastical activities], I will call on the faithful to respect the laws and State authority, to intensify their work in reconstructing the national economy and in raising the nation's prosperity.

I promise that I shall not take any steps which would conflict with the interests of the Polish people's republic or affect the security and extent of [Poland's] borders. Bearing the welfare and the interests of the State in mind, I shall make every attempt to protect [the State] from all dangers which, to my knowledge, threaten it.

The hierarchy, as well as the rest of the clergy, have, therefore, been placed in a situation where the threat of repression is constant. Since the decree on appointments to ecclesiastical positions appears to be of prime importance it is quoted verbatim:

1. Ecclesiastical positions in the Church may be occupied only by Polish citizens.

2. The creation, transformation, or elimination of ecclesiastical Church positions, as well as any other change in their sphere of competence, requires prior approval by the appropriate State organs.

3.(a) The acceptance of an ecclesiastical Church post necessitates prior approval by the appropriate State organs.

(b) The regulation under point "a" of this paragraph is applicable only in cases of release or transfer to a different position.

4. The appropriate State organ which issues approvals is, in the case of diocesan bishops ordinary and suffragans, the presidium of the government; in all other cases, the appropriate territorial presidia of provincial people's councils (including the people's councils for the cities of Warsaw and Lodz).

5. Persons occupying ecclesiastical Church positions take an oath of allegiance to the Polish people's republic at the Office of Denominational Affairs or at the presidium of the appropriate people's council (including Warsaw and Lodz).

6. A person who holds an ecclesiastical Church post and participates in activity conflicting with law and public order or supports or shields such activity is removed from the position he occupies by his superior Church organ itself or upon the demand of State organs.

7. The implementation of this decree is assigned to the chairman of the ministerial council.

8. This decree becomes binding on the day that it is announced.[59]

The 1952 constitution had already given rise to the fear that it would weaken the value of the Church-State agreement. The 1953 decree on ecclesiastical positions, translated above, strengthened the basis for this fear. The greatest danger to the Church apparently lies in the prognosis that its affairs will be regulated in detail by means of legislation which strikes at its very foundations. A precedent for this has already been established.[60] The whole activity of the communist regime clearly discloses its policy as being directed toward transforming the Church into an association, existing and functioning on the basis of the State's laws.

A major move against the hierarchy in Poland on the part of the communists was announced in the form of a government communique which stated that the primate, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, who had been secretly arrested on September 26, 1953, was "forbidden" to execute the "functions connected with the ecclesiastical positions he had hitherto held."[61] On the same day that this action was taken, the hierarchy elected Michal Klepacz, Bishop of Lodz, as its chairman. It also requested of the communist regime that Cardinal Wyszynski be permitted to reside at one of the monasteries. The government approved the election of Bishop Klepacz and also granted the bishops' request concerning the primate. The increasing wave of communist pressure upon the Church, following the cardinal's arrest, culminated in the publication of a joint pastoral letter of the hierarchy[62] to all the

[59] *Dziennik ustaw*, No. 10 (February 10, 1953), cited previously.

[60] *Trybuna ludu*, April 23, 1953, included reports from the various provinces to the effect that Catholic priests were appearing before presidia of people's councils for oaths of loyalty.

[61] *Zycie Warszawy* [Warsaw Life], September 29, 1953. This arrest was apparently made on the basis of the February, 1953, decree, although no open and specific charges were brought against the primate. Cf. the article in *L'Osservatore Romano*, September 27, 1955, which carries a photograph of the cardinal and discusses his imprisonment. In late December, 1955, Pope Pius XII transmitted via underground channels an apostolic letter to the Polish hierarchy. He urged all Catholics in Poland to refrain from collaboration with the communist regime and denounced the persecution of the Church. In particular, the pope stated that the primate was still being detained at an unknown place. The complete letter appeared in a special edition of *Wolna Europa* [Free Europe], an eight-page pamphlet dropped over Poland from balloons by Radio Free Europe in Munich, Germany, during the spring of 1956. Information through the courtesy of Dr. Jerzy Ptakowski.

[62] For the full text of this letter in the Polish language, cf. *Biuletyn*, No. 23 (June 9, 1954), 1-2.

faithful on May 29, 1954, which urged the preservation of international peace, condemned atomic warfare, and supported the concept of voluntary disarmament. Although maintained along the lines of the pope's views on these subjects, the release of the letter at this particular time could be interpreted as a surrender to the Warsaw regime's demands that the hierarchy place its prestige behind the spurious peace offensive of the Kremlin. The statement was immediately picked up and utilized by the communist propaganda apparatus throughout Poland.[63]

Besides the tactics of "persuasion" used against the bishops, continued pressure was also applied to ecclesiastical authorities at the diocesan level. As a result of the February, 1953, decree, no bishop ordinary is permitted to make any personnel changes unless permitted to do so by the government's representatives. This, together with the regime's policy of arresting leading clergymen in Poland, has resulted in situations like that within the Archdiocese of Gniezno (see chart) where all three of the bishops have been arrested by the communists. In this particular instance, new priests must be ordained by a bishop from an adjoining diocese.

Such a state of affairs *per se* would not seem to be too dangerous were all dioceses in the hands of the legitimate authorities of the Church. Unfortunately this is no longer the case, since the communists have been able to capture completely three of the diocesan administrations and to penetrate two others with patriot-priests at a fairly high level. In the former category are the Dioceses of *Slask Dolny* (Lower Silesia), Katowice, and *Warmia* (East Prussia), where all top echelon administrators are regime appointees.[64] The second group includes

[63] *Ibid.*, No. 24 (June 16, 1954), 8-9. A subsequent pastoral letter, issued in September, 1955, urged the Catholics to remain faithful to the Church in its struggle against atheistic communism. *L'Osservatore Romano*, February 27, 1956. The message had not been smuggled out of Poland until shortly before this date.

[64] Two of these collaborators have even been attempting to assume the powers of bishops. These men are Jan Piskorz, capitular vicar at Katowice, and Kazimierz Logosz who holds the corresponding post in Lower Silesia. Although neither has been consecrated a bishop, both reportedly had begun preparation for calling diocesan synods. *Kuznica kaplanska* (Warsaw), April 15, 1955. Paragraph 1 of Canon 357 states: "A diocesan synod is called and chaired by a bishop" [not a vicar general or a capitular vicar without a special mandate]. Cited in *Biuletyn*, No. 19 (May 11, 1955), 12-13. The maneuver by Piskorz and Lagosz was apparently abandoned, because nothing had been heard of the diocesan synods through the middle of June, 1956.

the Krakow and *Pomorze Zachodnie* (Western Pomerania) areas with one pro-communist in each. As the chart indicates, seventeen active dioceses remain free of penetration for the time being. On the other hand, ten dioceses have lost one or more bishops due to arrest or banishment by force. It should likewise be noted that all or large parts of the Dioceses of Bialystok, Luck, Lwow, Pinsk, Przemysl, and Wilno are currently within the *de facto* boundaries of the USSR.

III

The struggle against the Catholic Church in Poland has not only taken the form of persecution such as arresting leading members of the hierarchy, limiting the jurisdiction of other duly appointed officials, and the attempt at creating a schism by "brain-washing" the younger clergy through special courses in Marxism. But this persecution has also made progress in eliminating religious instruction from the schools[65] and in completely liquidating the genuine Catholic press. All of these moves are a part of a master-plan, directed by one of the sections in the central apparatus of the communist party,[66] to destroy the prestige of the Church and to transform that body into a government directed group, sensitive to communist orders. The communique issued in September, 1955, by the Warsaw regime to the effect that Cardinal Wyszynski would be released "very soon," was quickly followed by a statement from one of the better known pro-regime Catholic laymen, Dominik Horodynski, that "he (the Cardinal) will not be considered here any longer as Primate of Poland."[67] It is obvious that the communist government of Poland will permit no other organization to compete against it for the allegiance of the population.

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[65] *L'Osservatore Romano,* August 19, 1955. Cf. also Ann Sue Cardwell (pseudonym for Mrs. Paul Super), "Communist Attack on Polish Church," *Christian Century,* LXXIII (February 22, 1956), 232-233.

[66] Cf. Richard F. Staar, "The Secretariat of the United Polish Workers' Party," *Journal of Central European Affairs,* XV (October, 1955), 272-285.

[67] New York *Times,* September 29, 1955. According to "an authoritative source," Cardinal Wyszynski was released from prison almost two months later and permitted to take up residence (still *incommunicado*) at a monastery in southeastern Poland. *Ibid.,* November 28, 1955.

Cf. also the despatch from Warsaw pertaining to the alleged communist offer to grant the cardinal full liberty, including the right to reside at Warsaw, "provided that he does not resume his functions as Primate of Poland." *Ibid.,* May 19, 1956.

MISCELLANY

TOYNBEE'S *A STUDY OF HISTORY:* FRUITFUL FAILURE ON THE GRAND SCALE*

Toynbee's *A Study of History* is now finished, apart from Volume XI, *Maps and a Gazetteer,* which is promised for the near future, and a volume to be entitled *Reconsiderations,* which is to contain revisions especially of Vols. I-VI, and discussions of criticisms that others have made of his work. It is extraordinarily difficult to give an objective critical appraisal of Toynbee's truly gigantic opus, and that for several reasons. In the first place, extremely few scholars are or would consider themselves competent to pass judgment on many phases of a work of such size and of such an enormous range in space and time. *A Study of History* comprises a total of more than 6,000 pages, including some 19,000 footnotes—some of them very long—in smaller print. The tables of contents are full, and there are three excellent indices (Vol. III, 491-551, for Vols. I-III; Vol. VI, 541-633, for Vols. IV-VI, and Vol. X, 243-422, for Vols. VII-X), and numerous charts, but even these helps do not give complete control of the rich material presented. The maps and gazetteer are badly needed and should be published as soon as possible. In the second place, there was a long interval between the preparation and publication of Volumes I-VI (1934 and 1939) and that of Volumes VII-X (1954). Not only fundamental changes occurred in the general world situation, but more particularly in Toynbee's whole outlook. Hence, there is considerable justification in speaking of the "old" Toynbee and the "new"

**A Study of History.* By Arnold J. Toynbee. Volume I, *Introduction and The Geneses of Civilizations.* (London and New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. XVII, 484. First edition, 1934; second edition, 1935; first reprint, 1939.) Volume II, *The Geneses of Civilizations* continued. (Pp. 452. First ed., 1934; 2nd ed., 1935; 1st reprint, 1939.) Volume III, *The Growths of Civilizations.* (Pp. 551. First ed., 1934; 2nd ed., 1935; 1st reprint, 1939.) Volume IV, *The Breakdowns of Civilizations.* (Pp. XVI, 656. First ed., 1939; 1st reprint, 1940.) Volumes V-VI, *The Disintegrations of Civilizations.* (Pp. 712, 633. First ed., 1939; 1st reprint, 1940.) Volume VII, *Universal States and Universal Churches.* (Pp. XXXI, 772. 1954.) Volume VIII, *Heroic Ages* and *Contacts Between Civilizations in Space (Encounters Between Contemporaries).* (Pp. 732. 1954.) Volume IX, *Contacts Between Civilizations in Time (Renaissances), Law and Freedom in History,* and *The Prospects of the Western Civilization.* (Pp. 759. 1954.) Volume X, *The Inspiration of Historians, A Note on Chronology, Acknowledgements and Thanks, Index to Volumes VII-X.* (Pp. 422. 1954.) Volumes VII-X, $35.00 The set of ten volumes, $75.00.

Toynbee. While there are foreshadowings in Volumes I-VI, it is only in Volumes VII-X that Toynbee appears as a pronounced kind of mystic, poet, prophet, and theologian as well as historian, a writer more and more preoccupied with the sub-conscious—and with himself. In the third place, it is difficult to confine one's attention to the evaluation of *A Study of History* and ignore or forget some of the superficial and even nonsensical statements presented by Toynbee in broadcasts and popular magazines. It is hard to think of any other serious writer who has done more harm to himself in this regard than Toynbee. The purpose of the present review or short review-article is to outline briefly the main features of *A Study of History,* to make some critical observations especially on those portions of the work falling within the reviewer's own competence and of greatest interest to readers of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, and, finally, to mention some of the more important studies that have appeared on Toynbee and his interpretation of history.

Toynbee begins his work with an analysis of what he calls the intelligible units of historical study and he argues that these units are not nations or periods but societies. He divides the known higher civilizations of the past and present into twenty-one societies, which he classifies "as wholly unrelated, unrelated to earlier societies, infra-affiliated, affiliated I, affiliated II, and supra-affiliated." He then proceeds to analyze all these societies under the aspects of genesis, growth, breakdowns, and disintegration.

After rejecting race and environment as determining factors in the genesis of civilizations, he lays down his law or formula of Challenge and Response. With a wealth of detail, he attempts to show that it is difficult rather than easy conditions which produce civilizations. Among challenges, he examines the stimulus of hard countries, the stimulus of new ground, the stimulus of blows, the stimulus of pressures, and what he calls the stimulus of penalizations. He maintains, however, that an excessive challenge may result in an abortive civilization; the increasing impact of Islam on Byzantine Christendom is cited among his more important examples.

Civilizations face new challenges in their growths and meet them with varying degrees of success or failure. Among arrested civilizations, he lists, among others, the Polynesians, Eskimos, the Osmanlis, and Spartans. Growth and progress result from a process which he calls "etherialization" and defines as an overcoming of material obstacles which releases the energies of the society to make responses to challenges which henceforth are internal rather than external, spiritual rather than material. The source of action in the growth of a civilization is always the creative individual or the creative minority. Creative activity is described as a

process of withdrawal and return. The careers of individuals, St. Paul, Muhammed, Dante, and others, as well as civilizations like that of Athens, are then interpreted in terms of this process.

The breakdowns of civilizations cannot be explained by any theory of determinism, but result from factors under human control. Among these factors are loss of command over the physical or human environment, and the failure of self-determinations—as Toynbee conceives it. Such failure expresses itself in mechanical *mimesis,* in the attempt to force old institutions to do the work which can only be done by new, in the *mimesis* of creativity which consists in the idolization of an ephemeral self, institution, or technique, in the suicidalness of militarism, and in the intoxication of victory.

The disintegration of civilizations is explained as being the result of schism in the body social and in the soul. Disintegration manifests itself in the schism of the body social into three fractions: the dominant minority, the internal proletariat, and the external proletariat. Proletariat is defined "as a social element of group which in some way is in but not of any given society at any given stage of such a society's history." The American negroes, e.g., are characterized as a proletariat in American society. Schism in the soul is revealed, among other things, by alternate ways of behavior, feeling, and life, by the sense of drift, the sense of sin, and the sense of promiscuity, by archaism and futurism, by detachment and transfiguration—as Toynbee views it. In disintegrating societies creative individuals play the role of saviors, but all have failed except Jesus of Nazareth.

This, in brief, is the main burden of Volumes I-VI completed in 1939.

During the years of the Second World War, Toynbee had no time to work on his *A Study of History,* and when he went back to it in the late forties, his thinking on many important features of his original plan had undergone radical change. The most significant of these changes concern Part VIII, *Universal Churches,* Part IX, *Contacts Between Civilizations in Space* (*Encounter Between Contemporaries*), Part XI, which in place of the old title, "Rhythms in the Histories of Civilization," is now called *Law and Freedom in History,* and XII, *The Prospects of Western Civilization.*

Toynbee holds that universal states arise "after the breakdown of the civilizations to whose bodies social they bring political unity." They are really "Indian Summers," and they proceed inevitably to their decay and destruction. A universal state in its attempt to preserve itself performs all kinds of services which ultimately benefit one of the higher religions. A universal state, then, is only a means to a higher end. The author analyzes in detail all the significant institutions developed by universal states to maintain themselves, from roads to imperial citizenships.

Universal churches are no longer regarded, as in the early volumes, as relatively "secondary and subordinate," but, on the contrary, the history of civilizations is now viewed and interpreted "in terms, not of their own destinies, but of their effect on the history of Religion." Accordingly, a new classification of species of society is introduced, and the higher religions now become the new and higher species of society. The earlier cyclical rise and fall of civilizations, which is the main theme of Volumes I-VI, is replaced by a theory of spiritual development or evolution which culminates in the higher religions. He recognizes four extant higher religions, namely, Christianity, Mahayana Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam.

In his treatment of Heroic Ages, of Contacts between Civilizations in Space and Time, of Law and Freedom in History, and of the Prospects of the Western Civilization, he is constantly preoccupied with the role of the world religions of the past and present. Furthermore, he advocates the establishment of a new world religion. In the light of modern intercommunication of all peoples, and of the development of modern technology with all its potentialities for destruction on a scale until recently inconceivable, he believes that, in the interests of world preservation, peace and social justice must be striven for as universal goals, and that all that is best in the current world religions should be fused into a single universal faith. This new universal religion would both bring about and reflect the spiritual unity of mankind, and it would give basic and universal motivation to mankind's outlook and activity. In analyzing the relationships, differences, etc., in his four extant world religions, he resorts to Jung's four basic psychological types (see also the table in Volume VII, 772).

All students of history will find Part XIII, *The Inspiration of Historians,* as valuable as it is interesting. Toynbee ranges from Herodotus to the present, and gives a delightful account of his own early love of history and of the subsequent development of his historical training and outlook.

A work of the nature and extent of Toynbee's *A Study of History* is inevitably exposed to criticism, and especially to unsympathetic criticism. Until very recently the philosophy of history had gone out of fashion, and the older generation of professional historians were pretty much against it *a priori*. After working through the ten volumes, it must be admitted that even the sympathetic critic must agree that Toynbee does not succeed to any appreciable degree beyond his predecessors in establishing laws of history in the strict sense. Ying and Yang, Challenge and Response, Detactment and Transfiguration, and the numerous other striking phrases coined or applied by Toynbee do not constitute laws, and, above all, laws that are universally valid. In spite of his concern

for developments in space and time, Toynbee gives almost no attention to prehistoric and marginal cultures. In fact, the reviewer cannot recall that he has read anywhere in Toynbee a definition of such key words as "civilization" and "culture." As Professor Albright already pointed out (*From the Stone Age to Christianity*, Baltimore, 1940, pp. 61-62), the definition and classification of "societies" as found in Volumes I-VI is largely wasted effort. While there is much to be said for Toynbee's stress on societies as intelligible units of study, his Egyptiac, Iranian, and Syriac Societies, e.g., do not correspond to tangible historical reality in terms of organized political or cultural entities. Furthermore, a given society can hardly be considered an organism in the same sense that an individual belonging to that society is an organism. Basic differences in the author's "societies" are often ignored, and likewise the profound changes which took place in these societies in the course of many centuries. Enthusiasm for his "societies" has led the author to make unqualified statements about the rise and fall of civilizations for which we have far too little evidence to warrant any sound generalization, as, e.g., the civilizations of Ancient Crete, of the Hittites, the Inca, the early Nomads, etc. Furthermore, even for many phases of the history of Ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome, our knowledge is quite insufficient on essential points. The collapse of the Roman Empire itself still remains one of the great problems of history, and, without question, lack of adequate extant sources is one of our main difficulties. While definitely opposed to geographical determinism, Toynbee does not hesitate to rely heavily on Huntington's climatic theories of migrations in and out of Asia. He deals with the modern industrial system in the later as well as in the earlier volumes in some detail, but the reviewer does not believe that he has given sufficient attention to the numerous effects of urbanization and to the enormously increased mobility of peoples during the last hundred years. Throughout the work there is a tendency to overrefinement in classification, to oversimplification through temporary isolation of the phenomenon being discussed, and to the inclusion of questionable or, occasionally, bizarre examples in the process of exposition or illustration. Finally, Toynbee does not give art the full and systematic attention which it should receive in the history of civilization.

Toynbee's recognition of the higher religions as basic or even determining factors in the history of civilization marks an improvement over the endless cyclic process of rise and fall in civilizations as emphasized in detail in Volumes I-VI. In his handling of the great world religions, however, and especially in his advocacy of a new synthetic world religion based upon them, he reveals only too clearly his weaknesses and inconsistencies as a theologian. Despite the much more significant role assigned to religion in these last volumes, and the frequent use of Christian con-

cepts, imagery, and mystical phraseology, Toynbee's theology must be classified as relativistic and rationalistic, a theology based on the experience and vision of man and not on the revelation and authority of God. His Christianity has become more definitely Hellenic in character and, at times, more a philosophy than a religion in the strict sense. He shows an antipathy towards Old Testament religion throughout, and wishes to consider Christianity, not the fulfillment of Judaism, but rather its repudiation.

The idea of fusing the great world religions of Europe and Asia into a single world faith is not new. It was proposed recently also by E. S. C. Northrup in his *The Meeting of East and West* (New York, 1946), but it seems utterly out of place and even fantastic in a writer possessing such a broad and profound knowledge as Toynbee. Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism are truly vital faiths, guiding and giving meaning to countless millions precisely to the extent that they are uncompromising in their doctrines, convictions, and practices. A fusion of such vital faiths in Toynbee's sense is unthinkable. For a concrete idea of the fusion of elements in the new synthetic religion, see the litany composed by Toynbee in Volume X, 143-144. It begins: "*Christe audi nos.* Christ Tammuz, Christ Adonis, Christ Osiris, Christ Balder, hear us, by whatsoever name we bless thee for suffering death for our salvation." It reads like the ancient prayer to Isis, "Isis, thou of the thousand names," which reflects so eloquently the syncretism of the Hellenistic Age. In fairness to Toynbee, it should be observed that he has given traditional Christian theology a hearing in the long criticisms of his own theological ideas by Mr. Martin Wight in the footnotes of Volume VII. His own ideal as against St. Ambrose is Q. Aurelius Symmachus, who said: "The heart of so great a mystery cannot ever be reached by following one road only." Toynbee, however, fails to tell his readers that the paganism of Symmachus was only a hodgepodge of confused and moribund religious ideas and superstitions. For a full exposition of Toynbee's theology, the reader is referred to his latest book, *An Historian's Approach to Religion* (London and New York, 1956).

Toynbee's *A Study of History*, as a philosophy of history in the strict sense, is, as I have said, a failure, and specialists in each field of history can point to defects or errors in factual information or in interpretation of data. But all its weaknesses are more than compensated for by its outstanding merits. It reveals a tremendous breadth of conception in space and time, of depth and control of knowledge. All parts of the world from the beginning of historic times are included in Toynbee's critical analysis and comparisons. India, China, Central Asia, and Africa are treated with the same sympathy and intimate knowledge as Europe and America. The amount of solid factual knowledge presented and utilized in the

main text, in the notes, and in the annexes is literally enormous, and source material is regularly given firsthand. In comprehensiveness and richness of data, *A Study of History* dwarfs all other such works that have so far appeared.

Even if Challenge and Response, Withdrawal and Return, and other such formulae be rejected as "laws," Toynbee's examination of the rise and decline of civilizations in terms of such concepts is extremely fruitful. The reader is often given new insights into the history of nations and institutions. The comparative analysis of historical phenomena and institutions on a universal basis, furthermore, is equally valuable. The study of balance of power politics throughout history and that of the typical institutions and practices of universal states may be cited as two examples among many. Most important of all, Toynbee gives full recognition to the role of the individual in history, he accepts free will as the determining factor in human action, and he acknowledges the existence of a personal God. Breaking with the secularistic approach to and interpretation of history, Toynbee has restored religion to its proper place in the history of civilization. He recognizes religion as the dynamic force giving direction and meaning to all the great civilizations, at least down almost to our own times. While rejecting Toynbee's new theology, the reader should not forget the significance of his contribution in stressing the major role of religion in history.

Toynbee's ideas have been an object of sharp controversy since the first publication of Volumes I-III of *A Study of History* in 1934. The following references are offered as an aid to the reader in controlling the literature that has appeared on Toynbee, and particularly on his *A Study of History*. F. H. Underhill, the "Toynbee of the 1950's," *The Canadian Historical Review*, XXXVI (1955), 222-235 (with a list of important reviews of Vols. VII-X, 234-235). Thomas P. Neil, "The Complete Toynbee: A Modest Appraisal," *The Historical Bulletin*, XXXIV (1956), 131-167. This is a valuable article, which also takes into account the main conclusions reached at the Loyola University symposium, "The Intent of Toynbee's History: A Cooperative Appraisal," November 18-19, 1955.[1] I cannot accept, however, without serious qualifications Professor Neil's assertion that "*A Study of History* is the first Christian philosophy of history of consequence since Bossuet" (pp. 165-166). It is a religious philosophy of history heavily impregnated with Christian elements, but it is *not* a Christian philosophy of history in the strict sense of the term. Phyllis O'Callaghan, "A Selective Bibliography on *A Study of History*," *ibid.*, 168-181. This is more than the title promises, for it is an excellent

[1] For a detailed account, see E. T. Gargan, "The Loyola Toynbee Symposium," *Mid-America*, 38 (1956), 67-83.

annotated bibliography. M. F. Ashley Montagu, ed., *Toynbee and History: Critical Essays and Reviews* (An Extending Horizons Book, Boston, 1956). This work contains a collection of twenty-nine essays or articles, some appearing for the first time in English. Readers of the REVIEW will be particularly interested in the contribution by Christopher Dawson, "The Place of Civilization in History," pp. 129-139. I should like here also to call attention to the important article on Toynbee by the distinguished French Catholic historian, H. I. Marrou, "D'une théorie de la civilisation à la théologie de l'histoire," *Esprit*, July, 1952, pp. 112-129. See also his *De la connaissance historique* (2nd ed. revised. Paris, 1955), especially pp. 202-203.

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A NOTE ON WILLIAM HOWARD, AUTHOR OF *A PATTERNE OF CHRISTIAN LOYALTIE*

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The question of the identity of the William Howard who set his name to *A Patterne of Christian Loyaltie*[2] has never been satisfactorily answered. This celebrated tract favoring the Oath of Allegiance was published in London in 1634 as part of a renewed effort of courtiers, Anglican as well as Catholic, to gain from Rome approval of the oath, which had been condemned almost as soon as it was framed. The pamphlet war which followed the imposition of the oath in 1606 had been silenced by a brief from Rome, but Catholics remained divided, those who refused to swear suffering the penalties of the law and opposing bitterly those who attempted to lighten their burden by accepting the oath. The multiplicity of William Howards in the early seventeenth century provides pitfalls for anyone seeking positive identification of the author of the *Patterne*. Nevertheless, it is the purpose of this note to establish one frequent attribution as incorrect, and to suggest a likely solution.

One of the favored candidates for the honor of authorship is William Howard, later Lord Stafford, known in 1634 as the second son of the Earl of Arundel.[3] Gordon Albion, whose work on Catholicism in England in this period is the most intensive and complete, is definite in his attribution, with which I cannot agree.[4] J. H. Pollen's article

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[2] *A Patterne of Christian Loyaltie: Whereby any prudent man may clearly Perceive, in what manner the New Oath of Allegiance, and every Clause thereof, may in a true, and Catholike sense, without danger of Perjury be taken by Roman Catholikes. And All the cheife Objections, which are usually made against the said Oath, either in particular, or in generall, may according to the grounds of Catholike Religion bee easily answered. Collected out of Authours, who have handled the whole matter more largely.* By William Howard an English Catholike (London, R. Badger, 1634).

[3] William Howard (1612-1680), fifth by second surviving son of Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey, was created Baron and Viscount Stafford in 1640, and was executed for treason during the Popish Plot. His life is the subject of my doctoral dissertation at Bryn Mawr College, of which this article is an appendix. The research was made possible by grants from the American Association of University Women and the Council of Southern Universities.

[4] *Charles I and the Court of Rome* (London, 1935), p. 253.

on English post-Reformation oaths in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*[5] states that the author of the *Patterne* was "probably the future martyr." Joseph Gillow, in his *Dictionary of English Catholics,* lists the *Patterne* as Lord Stafford's work and says that he was active in the Oath of Allegiance controversy.[6] Other authors, however, decline to attribute the *Patterne* to Lord Stafford, but without giving evidence for their opinions.[7] Some have suggested other identifications, and to these it will be necessary to return.

Three basic facts about the author of the *Patterne* may be learned from his book. The title page proclaims him "William Howard, an English Catholike." In his dedication addressed to the Earl of Arundel, he speaks of "the honour of my relation to your Lordship in bloud" and of "the experience I have had of your Noble and gracious favour to my selfe in particular." He signs himself "a faithfull and humble servant, William Howard." From this it may be concluded that William Howard was a close kinsman of the Earl of Arundel, that he was a declared Catholic, and that he was a gentleman but not a knight in 1634. From both printed and unpublished sources other facts may be supplied about William Howard which give further indication of identity. From the *State Papers* we learn that the *Patterne,* described as "some collections concerning the Oath of Allegiance," was published "forthwith" in May, 1634, at the king's command addressed to "———— Howard."[8] Several other papers were taken into consideration at the same time, a draft of an oath differing considerably from that in force since 1606, and a paper of Mr. Howard's containing "Motives and reasons . . . for a distinction between such Recusants as voluntarily take the Oath of

[5] Volume XI.

[6] Joseph Gillow, *A Literary and Biographical History, or Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics,* . . . (London and New York [1885-1902]). V, 517.

[7] S.N.D., *Sir William Howard, Viscount Stafford, 1612-1688* (London, 1929), p. 18; Mary F. S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge University Press, 1921), pp. 368-370, says nothing directly about the *Patterne,* but fails to identify the William Howard who was interested in a rapprochement of the English Crown with the Holy See.

[8] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1634-1635,* p. 19. Cf. the *Patterne* title-page: "Collected out of Authours, who have handled the whole matter more largely."

Allegiance . . ." and those who refuse or scruple at it.[9] Howard is revealed as a frequenter of the court and an associate of Sir Francis Windebanke, Archbishop Laud's protégé and the secretary through whom negotiations concerning the oath were carried on. Like Windebanke, Howard concerned himself also with the delicate diplomacy of the projected rapprochement with Rome.[10]

A further series of letters in the *Clarendon State Papers* is enlightening, letters from the same William Howard (now, in 1636, accompanying the Earl of Arundel on his embassy to the emperor) to Secretary Windebanke at court. All bear a cross at the top, a customary practice of seventeenth-century Catholics when writing to their co-religionists. William Howard mentions having received an introduction to the Austrian Jesuits, although, in his own opinion, he "was esteemed their enemy."[11] Before leaving England, Howard had gone also to Gregorio Panzani, the papal agent, who gave him letters to the nuncio in Vienna, although in so doing Panzani believed himself to have incurred the disapproval of the Jesuits.[12] It is apparent that William Howard belonged to that group among the English Catholics inimical to the Society of Jesus, which uncompromisingly opposed the oath; we shall see that he was, in fact, much more at home among the Benedictines.

Another letter among the *Clarendon State Papers* tells us that William Howard was a married man in 1636;[13] and in another the Earl of Arundel mentions him to Windebanke, calling him "my cousin Howard."[14] In all of these documents throughout the period from 1634 to 1637 Howard is designated as "Mr.," not as "Sir." Prynne in 1643, however, was to list among the conspirators for

[9] *State Papers Collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon* . . . (Oxford, 1767), I, 88-90.

[10] Public Record Office, Roman Transcripts, 31/9/17, Panzani to Barberini, 30 December/9 January, 1635/6; 17/27 February, 1636; 9/19 March, 1636; 18/28 May, 1636.

[11] *Clar. S.P.*, I, 513. Cf. also, *ibid.*, I, 650, 651.

[12] P.R.O., Rom. Trans. 31/9/17, Panzani to Barberini, 4/14 May, 1636: "Hò saputo, che li Giesuiti mi biasimano, per haver io scritto al Nuntio all'Imperatore in raccommandatione del Sr. Huardo, il quale dicono sia fautore del Giuramento. . . ."

[13] I, 595.

[14] I, 650.

bringing in popery "the knight who is cousin to the Earl of Arundel."[15] Panzani, too, writing in 1635, identifies Howard as "a very close relative" of the Arundels, and gives a most unflattering estimate of him:

> This Howard is a man who is, himself, unimportant, being, it seems to me, quite inept and one who scarcely knows how to speak, but he is of very distinguished family and a near relative of the Earl of Arundel, and he is a very good friend of Windebanke, who uses him in undertakings similar [to this]. Therefore he has come to me several times to make me envoy on his behalf; it may be that [Howard] has received this confidence because of his book.[16]

George Conn, the Scotsman who replaced Panzani as representative to the queen in July, 1636, cared as little for "il signore Huvardo," but was able to win from him the concession that Catholics could not in conscience take the oath of 1606. He, too, saw Howard from time to time, and on February 19, 1637 (N.S.), reported the recent conferring of knighthood on him.[17]

All these facts substantiate the conclusion that Sir William Howard, second son of the Earl of Arundel, was not the author of the *Patterne*. He was not married in 1636; since 1626 he had been a Knight of the Bath;[18] and in all probability he was in 1634 no more a declared

[15] "Cognatus Comitis d'Arondel, Eques." *Romes Master-peece* . . . (1643), p. 24. Cf. also, *The Polish Royall Favourite* . . . (1643), p. 64, concerning Howard's friendship with Irish Benedictines.

[16] "Questo Huardo è un huomo, che vale pochissimo in se, essendo al parer mio molto inetto, et à pena sà parlare, ma è nobillissimo, et Parente stretto del Conte d'Arundel, et è amicissimo del Windibank, et di esso si serve in simili negotij; onde è venuto da me piu volte a farmi ambasciate da parte di esso; puo essere che habbia acquistata questo confidenza per il detto libro." (The book is, of course, the *Patterne*.) P.R.O., Rom. Trans. 31/9/17, Panzani to Barberini, 21/31 October, 1635. See also, letters of 27 March/6 April, 1635; 6/16 April, 1636.

[17] British Museum, Additional MSS 15390, fol. 118, Conn to Barberini: "Il Sigr. Huvardo essendo adesso fatto Cavre. del Rè venne a trovarmi, e mi parlò del Giuramento, ma prima che partisse lo feci confessare che nessun cattolico doveva giurare alcuna opinione, la quale aveva necessariamente, formidinem oppositi, e che mutando d'opinione il giuramento l'obligava; . . ."

[18] Robert Beatson, *Political Index of Great Britain* . . . 3rd ed. (London, 1806), III, 428. Walter C. Metcalfe, *A Book of Knights Banneret, Knights of the Bath, and Knights Bachelor* . . . (London, 1885), p. 137. This point of knighthood seems to have escaped Father Albion, who used all of the unpub-

Catholic or recusant than his father, mother, or elder brother. Conn, writing to Cardinal Barberini, frequently mentions "il cattolico Huvardo," as if there were a number of *signori* of the Howard family about, and one whom the epithet would distinguish.[19] Because of his British nativity and his extensive acquaintance with Italian art, Conn was closer to the Arundels than Panzani had been and was probably more conscious of the existence of their son, Sir William, though he mentions him only briefly and rarely, as "figlio del conte." Even Panzani, however, quickly recognized the Arundels as "schismatics," that is, Catholics at heart but conformists to the established Church.[20] When in 1638 the Arundels' daughter-in-law, Lady Maltravers, went over to the Roman Church, it was duly reported:[21] surely if William Howard "an English Catholike" had been Lord Arundel's son, it would not have gone unremarked.

The incorrect attribution of the *Patterne* to William Howard, Lord Stafford, might cease if the proper identification could be made, if a William Howard could be found who was known as a Catholic and courtier in 1634 and who received knighthood in early 1637. These qualifying facts make it possible to eliminate five of the seven known Williams in the Howard clan, leaving two Sir Williams to be considered, a son and a grandson of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle in Cumberland.

Lord William was a notorious recusant, frequently reported to the London authorities, but enjoying the protection of the crown. A leader of those approving the Jacobean Oath, he was known among Catholics as anti-Jesuit and is considered by modern historians to have been Erastian or Gallican in tendency. His connections with the Benedictines (as a group lenient toward the oath) seem to have

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lished sources presented in this paper, but seems to have confused several William Howards. Cf., e.g., Albion, *op. cit.*, p. 283, note, where the William Howard referred to is probably the Sir William of the Suffolk line.

[19] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS 15390, fol. 127, February 26, 1637: ". . . il Rè mi rispose, che era molto difficile de venire alle prove di certe cose, me che io potevo chiarirmi di quanto passava dal Cav^r. Huvardo cattolico; . . ."

[20] "Questi signori sono tenuti da molti per Cattolici oculti, che quà si chiamano Scismatici, andando essi alle Chiese Protestantiche, e nell' esteriore vivendo come Protestante." P.R.O. Rom. Trans. 31/9/17, letter of 27 March/6 April, 1635.

[21] William Knowler (Ed.), *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches* . . . (London, 1739), II, 165.

been strong, for his son Robert and several of the Howards of Corby entered the order, and the chaplain in his household was a Benedictine.[22] Moreover, the Naworth Howards were connected by marriage with families whose names figure in the controversy over the *Patterne,* the Prestons and Widdringtons. Among many theological and controversial works listed as belonging to Lord William (and until very recently preserved in his library at Naworth) are the *Appellatio* of the Benedictine fathers Thomas Preston and Thomas Green, and the *Disputatio* of Roger Widdrington, pamphlets[23] which were the core of the literature favoring the oath and of the collections on which the *Patterne* was framed.

Dom Thomas Preston (1567-1640), alias Roger Widdrington, a monk of the Cassinese Congregation, was probably a member of the north country family of his name. The person from whom Preston took his religious name seems to have been Roger Widdrington of Cartington, Northumberland, reported a dangerous recusant, and the brother of Sir Henry Widdrington, whose daughters married two of Lord William's sons.[24] Preston was in constant intrigue with the government, being, when in England, one of their "protected priests," and was usually in gentle custody in the Archbishop of Canterbury's palace at Croydon or in the Clink, well known as the most comfortable of prisons and a nest of papists.[25]

Preston took a great interest in the *Patterne,* and conjecture from his day to ours has made him the real author.[26] His early works in

[22] H. Kent Staple Causton, *The Howard Papers* (London, [1862]), p. 580. David Mathew, *The Age of Charles I* (London, 1951), p. 254.

[23] *Selections from the Household Books of the Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle* [ed. George Ornby], Surtees Society (1878), Appendix, p. 476.

[24] Abbot Terence B. Snow and Dom Henry Norbert Birt, *Obit Book of the English Benedictines from 1600* ... (Edinburgh, 1913), p. 21. It was customary for priests in penal times to take another name from the family tree, usually from the maternal side. Cf. also, *Household Books,* pp. 184, 427-30, 432.

[25] W. K. L. Webb, "Thomas Preston, O.S.B., al. Roger Widdrington, (1567-1640)," *Biographical Studies, 1534-1829* (Arundel Press, Bognor Regis), II, Pt. 3 (1953-1954), 233-38. John Rushworth, *Historical Collections* . . . (London, 1659), I, 240-243.

[26] E.g., P.R.O. Rom. Trans. 31/9/91, fol. 283; letter from Dom David [Codner], al. Matthew Savage, to Cardinal Barberini, from London, April 25, 1634: "I am much troubled heere within these twoe dayes and extremly grieved; theere is a rumour, I know not how true that there is to come out shortly another booke concerning the oath of alleageance. And I cannot learne

favor of the Jacobean Oath, written from 1611 to 1620, under either his own name or his alias, had been rebuffed or censured in Rome. He surreptitiously accepted identification as Roger Widdrington[27] and is usually credited with having submitted to the general order from Rome to cease internal squabbles carried on in pamphlet form. Yet if Preston gave up publishing under his own well-known names, it would seem that he found other persons to present his arguments to the public. His connection with William Howard is established and the probability of his share in the *Patterne* suggested in his letter to the chaplain of Archbishop Laud, where he speaks of Catholics "crying out against me and Mr. Howard."[28] Preston is here referring to a second book defending the Oath, prepared by William Howard and himself in 1635. This work was directed against a MS essay denouncing the *Patterne,* for which its author, the Jesuit Edward Courtenay, had been imprisoned. Panzani had persuaded Howard not to print the book after all, but felt it necessary to exert some influence on Preston as well. Preston finally agreed "that it would not be good to print that book, of which [he] nevertheless denied that he was the author."[29] Panzani believed that Preston was the true author and usually calls Howard "autore finto del Prestonio,"

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yet more then I write, that is, that fearing M^{r} Preston might have a hand herein (but it is my suspicion) I went to him to see and I could get out of him anything. but hee will tell me no further than I write that he is commanded from the King's ma^{tie} upon this alleagance something . . . shortly something will appear, but what I know not. This thing has been long now smuthered and I had hoped there would be no more adoe hereabout. . . ." Dom David, like his friend Preston, was of the Cassinese Congregation, active against the Bishop of Chalcedon, and in favor of the oath.

[27] In a pamphlet published under the name Roger Widdrington, an English Catholike, in 1616: *A cleare, sincere, and modest confutation of . . . Thomas Fitzherbert now an English Jesuite.* . . . Cf. p. 6, where Widdrington says he "will not be ashamed to be Prest on to write against opponents of the Oath." This refers to and is an acceptance of charges by his opponents that he was a mouthpiece of Archbishop Laud.

[28] Henry Foley (Ed.), *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus,* 7 vols. in 8 (London, 1877-1884), I, 256-258.

[29] P.R.O. Rom. Trans 31/9/17, Panzani to Barberini, 20/30 January, 1636: "Il ['Priscio Benedittino'—I cannot identify him—whom Panzani had asked to speak to Preston] quale prontamente parlò al Prestonio, e dopo lungo discorso lo fece capace, che no era bene stampare detto libro, del quale però negava esso Prestonio d'esser d'autore."

Preston's sham author.[30] There is no record, however, of either Preston or Howard admitting to this; indeed, neither could afford to do so. The most probable conclusion is that Preston inspired and guided the work, while William Howard put it into words.

The latest writer to attempt the identification of the *Patterne* author has chosen Lord William Howard's grandson and heir, Sir William of Naworth.[31] Born in 1603 or 1605, Sir William was the eldest son of Lord William's eldest son, Sir Philip, who died in 1616. Educated in a Catholic seminary abroad, young William returned in 1620 and in the following year married Mary, daughter of Lord Eure, a Catholic peer of the borderland. In 1623 he was knighted at Whitehall by the king.[32] Sir William died in 1644, leaving numerous children, and was succeeded by his second son, Charles, later Earl of Carlisle, who conformed to the established Church. Two things seem to make Sir William an unlikely choice as the *Patterne* author. Bred from youth to be the lord of Gilsland, Greystock, and all the Naworth manors, he would scarcely be the minor civil servant and courtier that the mysterious William shows himself to be. More conclusive, however, is the important fact of knighthood conferred long before 1634.

Lord Stafford's biographer suggests a much less impressive and more likely person, one of Lord William Howard's younger sons: "It is clear that the 'Sir William Howard' who lent his name to the title page [of the *Patterne*] was near akin to the Earl of Arundel—perhaps his first cousin, Sir William Howard of Brafferton, son of 'Lord William Howard of Naworth, who had so many titles.' "[33]

[30] P.R.O. Rom. Trans. 31/9/17, Panzani to Barberini, 2/12 January, 1635: "Guglielmo Havardo, che vuol esser tenuto non finto, mà vero autore del libro, che communemento si dice essere del Prestonio, è stato dame alcune volte. . . ." See also, letters of 23 January/2 February, 1635; 21/31 October, 1635; 4/14 May, 1636.

[31] Webb, *op. cit.*, II, Pt. 3, 247; in a footnote, p. 265, the author says that he hopes to present the evidence for this identification at some later time. Father Webb subscribes to the view that Preston actually wrote the book while Howard merely lent it his name.

[32] Metcalfe, *op. cit.*, p. 137; William Hutchinson, *The History of the County of Cumberland* . . . (Carlisle, 1794), p. 136, from blazons in the chapel Naworth Castle; John Nichols, *Progresses . . . of King James the First* . . . (London, 1828), IV, 946.

[33] S.N.D., *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Tracking down this snatch of quotation, one comes across a most illuminating bit of misinformation, which doubtless is behind S. N. D.'s surmise. W. M. Brady, in his *Annals of the English Catholic Hierarchy,* prints a list of Catholic noblemen; among them and said to be a defender of the oath, is Lord William: "William Howard (Lord Naworth, son of the fourth Duke of Norfolk); who has so many titles, is father to him (Robert Howard O.S.B.) who under the name of Preston, published a certain book."[34] Gillow—perhaps forgetting his sometime attribution of the *Patterne* to another branch of the family—suggests that Lord William's "other son" is intended in this reference to Dom Robert's book.[35] There is surely an error here, for no book concerning the oath by a Preston came out at this time, nor is Dom Robert known to have written any books. The book referred to must be the *Patterne,* which Panzani frequently refers to in a similar manner, as "il detto libro." As we have seen above, Panzani believed that Preston wrote a book under the name of Howard, not that Howard wrote a book under the name of Preston. Brady's work is based on a report by the papal agent; it seems reasonable to suspect a mistranslation, whether on the part of Brady or of an earlier translator, of Panzani's usual designation of Howard as "finto autore del libro del Prestonio," the pretended author of Preston's book.[36] Nevertheless, this error leads to the root of the matter, Lord William's son, but William, not Robert.

Born the fifth son, in 1589, William Howard was married to Mary Hungate, daughter of an old Yorkshire Catholic family and at that time the widow of Richard Cholmeley, a notorious recusant. From the *Household Books,* the chief source on the Naworth Howards, William appears to have lived at Naworth Castle with his family, as was customary for Lord William's sons until their progeny grew so large as to require their establishment on some other estate. In 1626 he seems to have been presented as a recusant by an informer or pursuivant; by 1628 he was established in his own household at Brafferton in Yorkshire and was still living there in 1641.[37]

[34] W. Maziere Brady, *Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Scotland, A.D. 1585-1876* (London, 1883), pp. 97-98.

[35] Gillow, *op. cit.,* III, 455-458.

[36] P.R.O., Rom. Trans. 31/9/17, letter of 21/31 October, 1635.

[37] *Household Books,* pp. 234, 249. Two of his servants were presented for recusancy at Thirske on May 4, 1641. North Riding Record Society, *Publica-*

The *Household Books* indicate that the Naworth Howards were often in London, staying at Arundel House.[38] They were very close to the Arundel Howards, the families serving each other in conveyances of property and as trustees. Not only were Sir William of Brafferton and the Earl of Arundel first cousins, but the relationship was double, since, while their fathers were half-brothers, their mothers were sisters. The Earl of Arundel so preferred the Naworth Howards that he secured an act of Parliament which settled the succession to his titles on Lord William's family before the elder Suffolk line.

In 1638 "a son of My Lord William Howard's" seems to have been at court for some time, since he is mentioned as one of the unsuccessful candidates for the position of secretary to the queen, who had been told she might select a Catholic.[39] This must have been Sir William of Brafferton, since no other Naworth Howard seems to be traceable to the court. Very much a cadet of the family, his allowance was a mere £ 60 in 1634, compared with £200 per annum to his nephew, Lord William's heir.[40] It is most likely that he would seek employment at court. Again, he is possibly the Mr. Howard, courtier and apparently secretary, referred to by the Venetian Ambassador in 1619, as having been lately put in charge of Italian affairs.[41] At present he is the only known candidate for identification with the William Howard of Yorkshire who was knighted at Whitehall on February 7, 1637.[42] This is supported by the *Household Books* of 1640, which show that Lord William's son and namesake had been knighted by that time.[43] Henceforth, there are no more notices of Mr. William, but rather the records distinguish between

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tions, IV, *Quarter Sessions Records*, edited by J. C. Atkinson (London, 1886), p. 188. Sir William is also sometimes called of Thornthwaite from the place of his birth.

38 *Household Books*, pp. 188, 300, 499, 501. Cf. also, *C.S.P. Dom.*, Addenda, 1625-1640, p. 570.

39 Knowler, *op. cit.*, II, 166.

40 *Household Books*, introduction p. xli.

41 *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1617-1619*, pp. 459, 467, 475.

42 Metcalfe, *op. cit.*, p. 137. Brian Magee, *The English Recusants* (London, 1938), p. 142, prints a list from the *State Papers* of recusant knights and baronets, including Sir William Howard of Yorkshire, created knight in 1636, which would be Old Style, of course.

43 *Household Books*, pp. 361, 362. Unfortunately, the accounts are missing from 1634 through 1639.

the elder Sir William and Sir William the younger. There seems, then, little doubt that this is the William Howard whom Conn mentions on February 19, 1637 (N.S.), as recently knighted by the king.

Sir William of Brafferton died without issue in 1644, and since he left no will, his estate was administered in May of that year.[44] Although the evidence is tortuous and the case implicit rather than explicit, the reconstruction of available minutiae points to the identity of William Howard, "an English Catholike": Lord William Howard *was* the father of him who wrote a certain book. Until further evidence is forthcoming, the most likely identification of the author of *A Patterne of Christian Loyaltie* would seem to rest upon Sir William Howard of Brafferton, fifth son of Lord William Howard of Naworth and first cousin of the Earl of Arundel.

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[44] Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, XXXV, *Index of Wills in the York Registry A. D. 1627 to 1636* [and] *Administrations A. D. 1627 to 1652* (1905), p. 184; John Gough Nichols (Ed.), *The Herald and Geneologist* (London, 1863-1874), VIII, 25.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Sankt Bonifatius, Gedenkgabe zum zwölfhundertsten Todestag. Herausgegeben von der Stadt Fulda in Verbindung mit den Diözesen Fulda und Mainz. (Fulda: Verlag Parzeller. 1954. Pp. xi, 686. 28, 50 DM.)

In the Fulda tradition, the twelfth centenary of the martyrdom of St. Boniface fell on June 5, 1954, and was marked by Pope Pius XII's encyclical *Ecclesiae fastos* of that date (cf. *The Pope Speaks*, I, 2, 1954, 171-185). In England, birthplace of the saint, solemn commemorations were held at both Buckfast Abbey and Plymouth (*The Tablet*, London, June 26, 1954), while in Germany, which looks to Boniface as to its apostle, even non-Catholic Christians paid their meed of praise (*Herder Korrespondenz*, VIII, 10 [July, 1954], 460-462). It was fitting, therefore, that Fulda, where the saint lies, should have given special thought to the *jubilaeum*. Commencing in the summer of 1951, its *Oberbürgermeister* met with the Bishops of Fulda and Mainz to plan the celebration. The result is the handsome volume under review which is the *Gedenkgabe* of the municipality.

Thirty-one scholars, from six countries connected with Boniface, have contributed to the book, and all but two have written in German. The first fourteen essays are grouped under the heading: Person and Work; the following eight under: Milieu; and the remaining nine under the rubric: Influence. Twenty-one pages of photographs, twelve sketches and one folding-plan grace the text.

Hilpisch, "B. als Mönch und Missionar," suggests that the saint must be seen as a monk intent, in his preaching, upon the *opus Dei*. Brechter, "Das Apostolat des hl. B. und Gregors d. Gr. Missions-Instruktionen für England," shows that it was only in 745 that Boniface came to possess copies of the authentic letters of Gregory the Great. Fischer, "Die Bedeutung eines Heiligen," draws a likeness of the martyr, after assigning his various *vitae* to their literary genres. Kilger, "B. und seine Gefährten im Missionsdienst," considers the how and the whence of Boniface's choice of missionary companions. The evidence is taken largely from Willibald's *Vita Bonifatii* which is now available to English readers in C. H. Talbot's *Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany* (Sheed and Ward, 1954). Frank, "Die Briefe des hl. B. und das von ihm benutzte Sakramentar," opines that the saint used a missal of the Old Gelasian type similar to that

found in ms. Vat. Regin. 316. Hohler, "The Type of Sacramentary used by St. Boniface," differs from Frank in thinking that Boniface's missal may have been a North French compilation of the St. Amand family. Dold, "Drei 'Vettern'-Funde zum Sacramentarium Fuldense," considers three texts related to the Fulda Missal. Huhn, "Der Agnellusbrief De ratione fidei," gives text and commentary of a letter contained in the Ragyndrudis codex. Heller, "Das Grab des hl. Bonifatius in Fulda," discusses the locale of the saint's grave prior to the translation in 819 of his remains to the west choir of the present cathedral. Flaskamp, "Wilbrord-Clemens und Wynfrith-Bonifatius," institutes a parallel between Boniface and the Archbishop of Utrecht whose path he first crossed in 716. Nottarp, "Sachkomplex und Geist des kirchlichen Rechtsdenkens bei Bonifatius," studies the foundations of Boniface's thinking as a canonist. Sante, "Bonifatius, der Staat und die Kirche," examines the martyr's views on Church and State against the background of conditions in Italy, the Frankish domains, and England. Schmidt, "Bonifatius und die Sachsen," inclines to the belief that Boniface's mission to the Saxons had been in his thoughts well before 731. Bigelmair, "Die Gründung der mitteldeutschen Bistümer," gives the antecedents to the establishment of the Dioceses of Erfurt, Buraburg, Wüzburg and Eichstätt.

The eight essays portraying the *Umwelt* of the saint lack the unity now found in the treatment of this subject in the first 100 pages of Theodor Schieffer's *Winfrid-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas* (Freiburg, 1954). Mayer, "Religions—und kultgeschichtliche Züge in b. Quellen," studies the references to pagan gods and forms of worship in the writings connected with Boniface. Hallinger, "Römische Voraussetzungen der b. Wirksamkeit im Frankenreich," shows that the influence of papal Rome upon France prior to Boniface was far from the puny thing it is sometime supposed. Büttner, "Christentum und Kirche zwischen Neckar und Main im 7. und frühen 8. Jhdt," is a study of the area wherein the saint would later establish the Sees of Würzburg and Eichstätt. Klebel, "Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Bayern vor Bonifatius," finds evidence of contact with the Eastern Church at Linz and Regensburg. Ewig, "Milo et eiusmodi similes," treats of the opposition shown Boniface by worldly clerics. Tüchle, "Bonifatius und Schwaben," and Mayer, "Bonifatius und Pirmin," discuss the saint's failure to influence the area between Constance and Augsburg wherein his contemporary, St. Pirmin, was at work. Bauerreiss, "Die Anfänge der Metropolitanverfassung in Altbayern," considers the background to the organization in 739 of the Dioceses of Salzburg, Regensburg, Freising, and Passau into a province without a metropolitan see.

Of the nine studies in the concluding section of the *Festschrift*, five deal with the liturgical cult or artistic representations of the saint, e.g., Brück, "Zur Bonifatius Verehrung in Mainz"; Coens, "Le culte de s. Boniface et de ses compagnons en l'église Notre-Dame à Bruges"; Arens, "Bonifatius Darstellungen am Mittelrhein"; Sturm, "Der hl. Bonifatius in der Plastik und Malerei des Fuldaer Landes"; and Hartig, "Der hl. Bonifatius in der bayerischen spätgotischen und barocken Graphik." Hahn, "Ausgrabungen am Fuldäer Domplatz im Jahre 1953," is a lengthy archaeological account well furnished with plan, sketches and photographs. Lehmann, "Zu Hrabans geistiger Bedeutung," studies the literary output of the Fulda abbot and Mainz bishop Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856). Stengel, "Primat und Archicancellariat der Abtei Fulda," deals with the Abbot of Fulda's *primatus sedendi* and his function as chancellor of the empress. Lenhart, "Die Bonifatius-Renaissance des 19. Jhdt," is an examination of the rebirth of interest in the saint during the last century. That a like interest may be expected of our own times is, perhaps, indicated by the current reprint of Tangl's "Die Briefe des hl. Bonifatius und Lullus" in Volume I of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae selectae.*

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The Eastern Schism. A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the XIth and XIIth Centuries. By Steven Runciman. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 189. 21s.)

The author of this volume sets out to prove that the final break between the Eastern and Western Churches of Christendom did not take place in 1054 with the schism of Michael Cerularius, but that it was a gradual development which reached its culmination at the time of the crusades in the beginning of the thirteenth century. He also aims to show that the fundamental cause of the Eastern Schism was not the insertion of the *Filioque* in the Nicene Creed, or the controversy regarding the use of leaven or unleaven bread in the Mass, and other liturgical practices in which the East differed from the West, but it was rather an accumulation of political events and traditional divergences. According to Runciman, therefore, the separation of the two Churches has an historical rather than a doctrinal basis.

Most interesting is the relationship the author establishes between the crusades and the Eastern Schism. According to his view, the forming of crusade colonies in the East more than any other factor brought about the severence of the Eastern Orthodox Church from that of Rome. To the Fourth Crusade in particular he attributes the cause for the final break, especially with the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the crusaders. "The Fourth Crusade could never be forgiven nor forgotten by the Christians of the East. Thenceforward there was definite schism between the Greek and Latin Churches" (p. 151). Speaking of the crusades in general we are told, "The Crusaders brought not peace but a sword; and the sword was to sever Christendom" (p. 101).

Regarding controversial matters of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, Runciman chooses to find the villain on the Orthodox side, not in Photius or Cerularius, but in Balsamon who held the nominal title of Patriarch of Antioch toward the close of the twelfth century. As a canonist Balsamon enjoyed extensive authority in the East, and his views against the Church of Rome were uncompromising. His refusal to accept the Roman primacy made the separation of the two Churches inevitable as far as the West was concerned. As the author himself admits, his personal sympathies are inclined toward Byzantium with the result that his presentation of the controversial subject is one-sided. However, whether his conclusions will be acceptable to the Orthodox Church is a matter of conjecture. Although Runciman has written a scholarly and erudite work in a field with which he is quite familiar as an historian, his rather superficial treatment of the doctrinal and liturgical aspects of the question inclines one to believe that it will hardly be acceptable either to the Eastern or to the Western Church.

The work is an outgrowth of the Waynflete Lectures which he delivered at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1954. It contains a good bibliography, especially of Greek and Latin sources. Regarding the *Summa theologica* of Alexander of Hales, however, to which he makes reference in the *Filioque* controversy, the critical edition published by the Franciscan Fathers at Quaracchi (1924-1948) should have been included rather than the old Cologne edition of 1622. Nor is there included in the bibliography two excellent articles by Venance Grumel in *Unitas*, viz., "New Light on the Photian Schism" (V, No. 3, 1953), and "The Schism of Michael Cerularius in 1054" (VI, No. 1, 1954).

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Papato, Impero e "Respublica Christiana" dal 1187 al 1198. By Piero Zerbi. (Milano: Società Editrice "Vita E Pensiero." 1955. Pp. xv, 198. L 3,200.)

This is a first-rate scholarly study of the efforts of the papacy to maintain the unity of Europe and the common good of the West against the unbelievable shortsightedness of the monarchs of France, England, and especially of the Holy Roman Empire at the end of the twelfth century. The pontificates of Clement III and Celestine III are often given short shrift by historians, but these two popes literally made the success, limited though it was, of the popes that followed them. There is no Innocent III without Celestine III, for it was the incredible sagacity and, indeed, the holiness of this superbly trained servant of the Church that kept western Christendom some kind of unity.

The fear of the union of the empire with Sicily, the threat of an hereditary imperial crown which ran counter to the very character of the mediaeval empire, the constant possibility of the crusade being used for imperial aggrandizement, put Clement III in the middle of a struggle which threatened to disrupt the West, make the pope a captive of the emperor, and ruin the role of the papacy as a mediator and moral arbiter of Europe. For all of his weakness, Clement managed to stand firm.

Celestine III, who succeeded him, is an incomparable figure. Over eighty when he was elected, he was a man of extraordinary spiritual vision. Threatened by the commune of Rome, discord in his own College of Cardinals, and the program of Henry VI which eyed the destruction of Constantinople, Celestine reveals himself one of the outstanding spiritual diplomats in papal history. In his concluding chapter Zerbi shows that, among the European rulers of the time, only the pope maintained a universal point of view and thought in terms of peace, unity, and morality. In a truly superb discussion of the *plenitudo potestatis* the author writes with far more penetration and understanding than have been revealed by recent works bearing on papal power.

Though the work is bolstered by immense documentation, it could have made greater use of canon law sources of the period which would have shown how consistently the work of Celestine III reflects the traditional teaching of the Church on the role of the papacy in the West and its relations with the imperial and royal power. The author could have brought out in greater detail the nature of the imperial office as it is described in the mediaeval legal tradition. The style is clear and pene-

trating; the printing is excellent. The Università Cattolica del Santa Cuore of Milan is to be congratulated for its sponsorship of the volume.

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L'Ordre de Calatrava. La chevalerie militaire en Espagne. By François Gutton. [Commission d'histoire de l'Ordre de Citeaux, No. IV.] (Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1955. Pp. 240. Fr. 2,000.)

Outside of Spain very little is known about the colorful history of the military orders organized during the fight against the Moorish invaders. Consequently, any attempt to survey their manifold activities might be expected to evoke appreciative attention. The sponsorship of the present publication by the Historical Commission of the Cistercians of the Strict Observance finds its explanation in the fact that Calatrava, and a number of other similar organizations, were either created by Cistercians or at least heavily influenced by them. The author is a French industrialist who has spent the last two decades in Spain. The magnificent ruins of the once mighty Calatrava aroused his curiosity and the present volume is the result of his readings and diligent research concerning the vicissitudes of Calatrava from the mid-twelfth century to the present.

In his preface M. Gutton candidly admits that what he intends to present is "more a quick glance over the whole picture reflecting personal impressions, than a compilation." For the same reason, notes or references are omitted, and even the bibliography is measured to the interest of the general public. Scholars may find some consolation in the appendices furnished by the secretary of the Cistercian Historical Commission, Father Jean de la Croix Bouton, who reviews the primitive organization of Calatrava, its relation to the general chapter of Citeaux, and especially to the abbey of Morimond; this is followed by the text of the first laws and customs of Calatrava. The story itself, quite naturally, concentrates more on the military and political activity of the order than on its social or economic aspect, but its readable quality compensates the interested public for such shortcomings. Some of the large number of photographic illustrations are rather amateurish, while the maps are unduly large and cumbersome to use while reading the book. French publishers are, apparently, not convinced about the blessings of a general index; in this case it is a regrettable omission.

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Das Weltkonzil von Trient. Sein Werden Und Wirken. By Georg Schreiber. Two volumes. (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 1951. Pp. lxxvii, 488; vii, 630. Cloth 56 DM; Paper 48 DM.)

The thirty-eight articles edited by Msgr. Schreiber in this *Festschrift* of impressive size and quality constitute the collective tribute of German Catholic scholarship, with some contributions coming from Austria, England, Italy, and Switzerland, to the fourth centenary of the Council of Trent. It is only fitting that such a substantial commemoration should come from the country of the Goerres-Gesellschaft, which since the early years of our century has given us in the growing series of the *Concilium Tridentinum* the monumental corpus of source materials which is the daily working tool of the student of sixteenth-century church history. The two volumes of essays here presented are distinguished by their careful editorial planning: instead of following the usual procedure of inviting authors to contribute some paper of their choice for a collection of miscellaneous topics, Msgr. Schreiber and his collaborators conceived of their *Festschrift* as a composite whole in which the parts of a pre-established program are distributed among individual scholars. Broadly speaking, one group of articles deals with the univeral aspects of the work accomplished at Trent and its significance in the history of theology, discipline, liturgy, and Catholic culture; whereas a second group of articles examines the particular aspects of the Tridentine reform in relation to a number of dioceses and religious orders. The investigation of special incidents or phases in the history of the council itself and biographical research are excluded from the purview of the book, except of course where such data are essentially connected with the topics that form its specific program.

Msgr. Schreiber's general introduction (I, ix-lxxvi), after a brief account on the making of this great symposium, surveys its harvest of facts and ideas, stringing together in his unique, almost aphoristic manner an immense wealth of general observations and historical minutiae bearing on the universal significance of the council as the great divide between the medieval and the modern world; a focal point from which new principles and forces radiated into the entire fabric of western civilization.

Next, Hubert Jedin passes in review the contemporary output of scholarly work which the jubilee of Trent has stimulated since the early forties (I, 11-31). Spanish production in this field, the reader learns with interest, outdistances that of all other countries. It was a happy thought to have this bibliographical report, which in anybody else's hands might have become a dry catalogue, written by the scholar who is easily the foremost authority of our generation on the history of the great council in all its aspects. At present engaged in completing the second volume of

his great treatise, Jedin has turned this survey into a very instructive commentary on the chief historical problems of the council itself.

The series of articles evaluating Tridentine theology opens with a general study by the late Martin Grabmann, illustrating the principle of dogmatic progress by placing the conciliar definitions into the historical context of problems either left unsolved by medieval theology or presenting themselves at Trent from new angles, owing to the Protestants' radical break with the traditional framework of thought (I, 33-53). Several other contributions deal with the way in which Trent answered, anticipated, and determined the theological positions and preoccupations characteristic of the modern mind. Among the more specialized investigations, F. Stegmüller's analysis of the growth of Domingo de Soto's doctrine on grace (I, 169-230), and the investigation by V. Heynek of the conciliar discussions on imperfect contrition (I, 231-230) are particularly rich in fresh historical material.

There follows a series of contributions reviewing one by one the achievements of the council in other ecclesiastical fields and its influence on forms of piety, on religious folklore, art, music, etc. One may point out especially the concise article by K. Hofmann on the basic principles of Tridentine canon law (I, 281-296), J. A. Jungmann's outline of the liturgical renewal (I, 325-336), and the discussion by G. Schreiber of the spiritual background of baroque art (I, 381-424).

A well-rounded essay by C. E. Messenger on Trent and the English Catholics (I, 473-487) marks the transition to the articles of Vol. II, which are all concerned with particular churches and communities. Here a series of twelve monographic studies on the course of Tridentine reform in individual German bishoprics will interest above all the student of German ecclesiastical and regional history, but even in this restriction affords a rich material on typical forces and patterns of reform, and of resistance against reform, on the local level. The remaining articles are focused each on one religious order, discussing such topics as the share of its members in the work of the council, the effects of Trent on its post-medieval development, and the like. Here, too, the editors were frankly selective, in that only six orders (the German Benedictines, the Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Capuchins) are considered.

Any brief review of a cooperative work of this kind can undertake no more than to sketch its general scope. Even at its best, an organized collection of essays is never a substitute for a coherent treatise, and one should not try to measure it by the standards of such a treatise. All in all, the balance between retrospective, general interpretations, and particularized research, variously represented by the papers collected in the

nearly 1200 pages of this *Festschrift,* is a happy one. The wealth of material it includes is conveniently made accessible by an excellent index.

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The Catholic University of America

Saint Ignatius and The Jesuits. By Theodore Maynard. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1956. Pp. viii, 213. $3.00.)

In a country where the Society of Jesus is taken for granted, and where violent opposition to its very existence is all but incomprehensible, the man on the street would be startled to learn that in the eighteenth century these master-educationalists were the sinister scandal of the world. Shock troops of the Catholic Reformation, they vigorously attacked the forces of Gallicanism, Jansenism, and Protestantism. They were both dreaded and envied because of what they achieved. Their intensive training and *esprit de corps* added fuel to the fires of jealousy, while the myths of Jesuit wealth and "casuistry" inflamed secular opposition. If ever the papacy were to fall, these militants—with their special vow of obedience to the pope—must fall first. Voltaire voiced the contemptuous hatred of all "enlightened" men when he said of them, "Once we get rid of the grenadiers of bigotry, we shall have no trouble with the Infamous Thing." The dramatic story of the rise, fall, and rebirth of the Society of Jesus is clearly and colorfully told in *Saint Ignatius and the Jesuits.* Theodore Maynard is a joyously readable writer, and the story as he tells it—with crisp insight and compact comprehensiveness—never dulls.

The Jesuits were founded by a man who was the reverse of a martinet. Though he was made of the iron ore which so abounds in the Basque province called Guipuzcoa, his homeland, Ignatius was humble and teachable. He earnestly begged all the Company "that in everything where they saw me fail, they would . . . have the goodness to remind me of my failures so that I might be able to reform myself in the Lord." And yet as first general of that small but growing Company, a position he sought in vain to escape, his moral ascendancy was never questioned. Years before, with stubborn courage Loyola, the soldier of Spain, had refused to surrender the garrison at Pamplona. As he stood upon the ramparts, a cannon ball shattered his right leg. Waiting for the leg to heal, desperately bored on his sick bed, he fell to reading the lives of the saints. He was soon saying to himself, "If they could do this, I could do the same and more." And he did.

Mr. Maynard states, "Though Ignatius Loyola had not so much as heard of Martin Luther, and definitely did not found the Company of

Jesus to stem the tide of Protestantism, it was during the selfsame months when the young soldier was convalescing at home that Luther was in hiding at Wartburg Castle." Later, in the quiet retirement of Manresa, where Loyola sought to rival the saints in contemplation, austerity, and penance there began to grow and to take shape in his mind the secret of the power of the Jesuits, that is, the *Spiritual Exercises.* In this day of glib journalism and hasty publication, it is interesting to note that Ignatius, whose mind worked slowly and cautiously, "wrote nothing at Manresa or anywhere else that he did not make his own by brooding over it with the most concentrated attention." He revised, retouched, and recast the *Spiritual Exercises* for a score of years before they appeared in their final form. Devoid of literary grace, Ignatius had produced, not a book, but a spiritual drill-manual for the forming of dedicated, developed souls. "There is nothing like the *Exercises,*" writes Theodore Maynard, "either as they stand or in the unparalleled effect they have had." Though favored with mystical gifts, Ignatius dedicated these to the service of practical purpose. "In his plan Martha and Mary were once again to show themselves sisters." His aim was the strengthened will, the zealous, untiring active life, spiritually nourished, fashioned by the *Exercises* into a sword for the Church Militant.

How this sword has been wielded for 400 years by Jesuit educators, scholars, missionaries, retreat masters, and many an inspired improvisor is a story filled with struggles, surprises, defeats, and victories. It is the story of a group of men working in obedient uniformity for the sanctification of others through an order which St. Francis Xavier called "nothing more than a society of Love." In the Jesuit *Constitutions* the word "love" occurs much more frequently than the word "obedience"—which should be kept in mind, says Maynard, "as a corrective of popular misconceptions." The purpose of the Society of Jesus was well expressed in their motto, "To the greater glory of God," A.M.D.G. Though they have become known as master-educationalists of the modern world, they still look upon themselves as missionaries. As Maynard puts it, "education is with them a means to an end, the saving of souls."

OLIVER BARRES

Manhattanville College

Scotland under Charles I. By David Mathew. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, Ltd. 1955. Pp. xiv, 320. 30s.)

In a series of earlier books Archbishop Mathew has examined the social, economic, and cultural life of England during the Caroline period.

In this new study he extends his investigations to the northern part of Charles I's domain, the ancient Kingdom of Scotland, which had been merged with England into the new United Kingdom of Great Britain when Charles I was still an infant. The book covers the early period of King Charles I's reign, from his accession in 1625 to his final departure from Edinburgh in 1641. It is a tangled period when the mutually antagonistic elements in Scottish Protestantism—the future Episcopalians and Presbyterians—were gradually working out that alignment of forces which would find its full expression in the civil wars and would influence all subsequent Scottish history. The religious and political ideals of the protagonists are not easily separated. The story is complicated by the fact that Scotland really consisted of two nations—Highland and Lowland—which had quite distinct cultures, and that both of these national elements were radically different in their tradition of political thought from England. Also, in spite of its new Protestantism, Scotland still reflected the culture of France more than that of England. Distrust of English rule survived strongly and, for many Scotsmen, this distrust included the absentee ruler, King Charles I.

In his usual incisive style, Archbishop Mathew gives us an excellent and comprehensive survey of Scottish life during this period. An introductory chapter on the Scottish polity summarizes the political situation, emphasizing its lack of resemblance to the contemporary situation in England. The Presbyterian tradition of Scots Protestantism is then considered and the characters and careers of Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Wariston, and of Sir Thomas Hope, Lord Advocate, are sympathetically analyzed to illustrate the influence of Presbyterian thought on private and public life. The Episcopalian tradition is similarly examined. There is described the economic and social background of life in the various regions of Scotland: the North East, where Gordon hegemony held sway; the Lowlands, where the strength of the Presbyterian tradition lay; the Northern Earldoms, the West Highlands, and the Western Isles, where the tradition of Catholicism remained strong. The characters and ideas of important political personalities, Huntly, Argyll, Hamilton, Lennox, young Montrose, are analyzed and we are given a comprehensive picture of these men against the background of the houses they built for themselves, the libraries they gathered together, the gardens they laid out, the business dealings in which they engaged and their everyday habit of life. In the process historical figures take on flesh and blood and become intelligible human beings. The whole picture is built up from a rich array of quotations from contemporary documents, which indicates the wide research which has gone to the making of this book, and which explains part of its excellence. The author's exposition of highly complicated and still explosive events is uniformly calm, sympathetic, and clear,

a fact which will make the book appreciated by all students of Scottish history.

For the general historian this work is extremely useful, but for those interested in the history of Catholicism in Scotland it is of especial importance. The author has gathered together all the most up-to-date material on the Catholic remnant which continued to exist in the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland, and he lets us see this minority in its proper perspective against the political, religious, and social ideas of the period. From this there results a picture which surpasses in clarity and coherence any historical accounts hitherto written about the survival of Catholicism in seventeenth-century Scotland. Anyone who wishes to understand Catholicism in post-Reformation Scotland would do well to begin with this book. Scottish readers will notice one or two slight inaccuracies in the spelling of place-names. The book is beautifully produced and eight illustrations provide portraits of some of the chief actors in the events which are described.

DAVID MCROBERTS

St. Peter's College
Cardross, Scotland

Der Kirchenhistoriker Natalis Alexander (1639-1724). By Anton Hänggi. (Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1955. Pp. xxvii, 417. Ffrs. 17:70; DM17.)

Natalis Alexander (Noël Alexandre) was one of the great erudites of the age of erudition. The author of a church history covering sixteen centuries, he also found time to write extensive theological, exegetical, and controversial works. Up to the present he had not been the object of a scientific evaluation. Anton Hänggi has filled this lacuna by a study based on the sources, some of which were found in the archives of Rome and London as well as in those of Paris.

The picture of this life, devoted, except for a short term as provincial, to learned labors, is sufficiently complete. Herr Hänggi begins with a sketch of the formation of the scholar. The bulk of the book is devoted to Alexandre's *Wirken und Werke.* The *Historia ecclesiastica* receives special attention but none of the works is passed over. Herr Hänggi expresses the fear that his study of the man may have led to a certain neglect of the historian who was the sole object of his original researches. This fear is ungrounded. Longer studies on the *Historia ecclesiastica* would have done little more than slow up this swiftly moving narrative

whereas exhaustive studies would have led to the production of several volumes of very limited interest. Alexandre's struggles with the Roman authorities are treated with competence. Herr Hänggi makes no effort to hide his sympathy for the great Dominican and does all that he can to explain away his mistakes, but not always successfully.

Written in an agreeable style, this work is easily read but it cannot be denied that the impression it makes is an unpleasant one. Alexandre was certainly a man of eminent parts. In his day his authority at Saint Jacques, the famous Parisian convent where Thomism was born and whence it issued to dominate Catholics schools to a degree no other system ever has, was great if not uncontested. Moreover, his was one of the most respected names in France at a time when French influence was paramount in the West. And yet the Gallicanism of the day, which he accepted and defended with a tenacity worthy of a better cause, blots his memory. It is true that Gallicanism was not then as discredited as it is now. But Alexandre's studies had placed him in a position to understand the weakness of its historical foundations. He seems never to have examined them critically. What the faculty of the University of Paris taught was too sacrosanct for him to question. The result was a succession of errors which led this devout man to strange excesses. In the name of Gallicanism he persistently resisted the pope and the general of his order and even appealed to a future general council against a papal decision. On occasion, too, he could find reasons for resisting his king and government when they happened to agree with the pope and his general against him. He was also free in characterizing as enemies of God and of the Church, Catholics who could not accept the theses dear to him. That, despite these aberrations, Père Alexandre merited the reputation of a devout religious man will surprise only those who are unaware of the sway that local and institutional loyalties exercise over the minds and hearts of men. That he had the good fortune to die under Benedict XIII, a member of his order, who apparently succeeded in reconciling him with the Holy See, may be looked upon as providential.

EDWARD A. RYAN

Woodstock College

History of Christianity, 1650-1950. Secularization of the West. By James Hastings Nichols. (New York: Ronald Press. 1956. Pp. vi, 494. $5.00.)

The past three centuries, the most complicated in man's story, are usually those most assiduously studied. It is a peculiarity of ecclesiastical

history that they remain as a rule the ones least known. A survey competent and compendious deserves welcome with open arms. In his endeavor to fill this need Professor Nichols of the University of Chicago has produced a guide in many respects praiseworthy, though of very uneven value.

The immense material is well marshalled and integrated. Four main parts divide the book at the key dates 1789, 1870, 1914, with the latter two parts occupying slightly over half the pages. Each chapter is marked off by sub-headings into a series of topics which, if perforce disparate, avoid choppiness of effect. The presentation, clear and interesting, retains the freshness of the lecture course out of which the book grew. The text is interpretative more than factual with detailed narrative restrained to a modicum. Broad trends are keenly appreciated, and their underlying causes outlined. Constantly the author is at pains to evaluate the significance of events, particularly insofar as they explain the present status of Christianity. Judgments are definite, frank, and at times provocative. There is a warning in the preface that an acquaintance with history is presupposed; but so much is taken for granted in the exposition, especially in the appraisal of philosophical and theological movements, and in references to hosts of less-famed persons and happenings, that the envisioned reader will do well to possess a background at once broad and specialized.

"The central theme throughout is the changing relation of Christian faith to society, culture, and the state" (p. iv). Spirituality and other subjects connected with the inner life of the churches recede to subsidiary place. Chief preoccupation is rather with external matters such as Church-State relations, adjustments to social, economic, intellectual developments, and missionary expansion. Here few points meriting remark appear to have gone unnoted. The prevailing tone tends to pessimism. The subtitle *Secularization of the West* proves aptly chosen. The burden of Nichols's lament is that Christianity has been progressively less successful in an attempt to imbue civilization with its principles, to direct the basic forces and structures of our age.

In dealing with Protestantism, which preempts the lion's share of attention, the book is at its best. If confined to this it would be highly informative, critical, balanced, and almost uniformly admirable. With ease and sureness Professor Nichols moves among a multitude of sects, at home amid a bewildering confusion of voices. The pages, about a tenth of the total, dedicated to the Oriental schismatics, are capable and objective. Where the volume falters is in its portrayal of the Catholic Church, stinted to about a fifth of the space. Consistently manifest is unfamiliarity with Catholic doctrines, actions, and aims; belittling of the Church's achievements; and scarce-concealed animosity which on occasion,

e.g., in references to the papacy and the Vatican Council, turns from history to polemics in a fashion reminiscent of Paul Blanchard. Jansenists, liberals, modernists, and others in conflict with Rome regularly appear in the right. An obsession seems to have overtaken Professor Nichols that the Catholic Church is primarily a political organization, anti-democratic, with a bent for clerical fascism. Were a reader to pass up this section of the volume, he would not be the loser.

JOHN F. BRODERICK

Weston College

Catholicisme et politique, Documents inédits (1832-1909). Edited by A. Simon. (Wetteren, Belgique: Editions Scaldis. 1955. Pp. 279.)

The editor of this collection is a distinguished Belgian historian whose publications include a classic two-volume biography of Cardinal Sterckx. The present volume is intended as an aid to a more exact appreciation of Church-State relations in Belgium. As the author remarks, the issue has been clouded by facile use of labels as "liberal," "ultramontane," "clerical," and "constitutional." Since the actors in the drama used these freely in their day, they have been adopted by the historians. Yet the terms are not precise, and they vary with events. It is the editor's hope that these documents will serve as case studies to give flesh to the labels.

This volume is a collection of unpublished letters, carefully selected to illustrate the major developments in the relations of *catholicisme et politique* in Belgium. Each group of letters is provided with its own historical introduction to put them in context, and there is an excellent general introduction on the major currents in the politico-religious history of Belgium. Abundant cross references to published and archival material make this indispensable for the student of the specialized topic and useful for the general student of Belgian history. The letters are from the private archives of the princes of Croij at Rumillies, and concern the Robiano and Stalberg families who played important roles in Belgian politics. The correspondence dates from 1832, when Lamennais and the new Belgian constitution were the leading issues to 1909 with letters of Cardinal Mercier on the educational, military, and colonial problems.

The documents support the thesis of M. Henri Haag that liberal Catholicism in Belgium had indigenous roots, but that it found considerable support in the writings and prestige of Lamennais. The views of Belgian Catholics disturbed Metternich, and led the nuncio, Archbishop Fornari,

to observe that many Belgians, who accepted *Mirari vos,* remained at once faithful to the Holy See and to the liberal Belgian constitution. The letters show that liberal Catholics supported separation of Church and State in Belgium to the degree that they did not wish a return to the coercion of the *ancien régime* in favor of religion; but they did wish Church and State to collaborate for the good of the nation and they intended to use the parliamentary regime and freedom of the press to advance the cause of the Church politically.

The letters also reveal that, in the first decades after independence, the bishops directed the political action of Catholics until the growing maturity of the electorate prompted laymen to take independent initiative, frequently with annoyance to the bishops who were tempted to place political and economic questions on the doctrinal plane. There is abundant evidence of the stubborn and damaging obscurantism of the Catholic intransigeants, especially after the political reverses of Pius IX. Finally, these documents reveal that although a Catholic Party was implicit in the behavior of Belgian Catholics, its creation was slow and difficulties remained to threaten it with division.

JOSEPH N. MOODY

St. Paul's Church
Congers, New York

Mgr. Clausel de Montals, évêque de Chartres (1769-1857). Un évêque militant et gallican au XIX^e^ siècle. By Ernest Sevrin. Two volumes. (Paris: Bibliothèque d'histoire ecclésiastique de la France. Joseph Vrin. 1955. Pp. 337, 338-756. Frs. 1,500.)

Clausel de Montals, Bishop of Chartres from 1824 to 1852, is almost unknown today. Yet he represents a considerable number of French bishops of the mid-nineteenth century whose pastoral zeal and very real virtues we are too prone to forget while remembering only the results of their activities that were often ill-adapted to the changes in society, and suggestive of minds that were not quite lucid enough to cope with the movements of their time. Clausel did not play a major role in the Church of France, but he is not on this account insignificant. For a quarter of a century he took an active and a voluntarily militant part in all the controversies of that agitated period.

The Bishop of Chartres was completely dedicated to his episcopal duties, but he could never resolve to limit his horizons to the confines of his diocese. Every question that touched the interests of Catholicism in

France moved him deeply, and he was always one of the first to intervene with what was frequently a rather blundering impetuosity. From 1826 on he took the offensive against the philosophical and theological ideas of Lamennais, and in 1828 he spear-headed the resistance against the ordinances of June 16. He allowed Guizot's law of 1833 on primary education to pass without reaction, but in 1841 he began to condemn openly the system of Victor Cousin which practically held the place of an official philosophy. From this point of criticism he moved quickly to an attack directed fundamentally against the University itself, accusing it of poisoning the elite of the French youth by rationalistic or atheistic teaching. The battle for free education had scarcely ended when Clausel engaged in a violent conflict with Marie-Dominique Sibour, Archbishop of Paris, his metropolitan, on the neutral political stand of the Church. Finally he threw himself into an embittered struggle against the rising and victorious wave of ultramontanism, an affray that occupied the octogenarian until the eve of his death.

From this outline one can readily see that the life of Bishop Clausel embraces more than a section of local history. Rather, it is intimately connected with the vicissitudes of the Church of France from the Restoration to the beginning of the Second Empire, and as such, it has a very wide interest. It is fortunate that Clausel's biography has been written by an historian who is both diligent and remarkably objective, a scholar who was already well known by his excellent works on *Dom Guéranger et La Mennais* (1933), on the religious practice in Bauce in the mid-nineteenth century (1939 to 1946), and on the *Les missions religieuses en France sous la restauration* (1948). Although Abbé Sevrin's bibliography is a little dated—and he was not able to do personal research in the Vatican Archives—he has used adequate sources, a great part of them unpublished, as, e.g., the diocesan archives of Chartres, Paris, and Poitiers, series F^{19} of the Archives Nationales, and several hundred letters in the archives of the Seminary of St. Sulpice and in the possession of the Clausel family. Thanks to these abundant sources, utilized with a fine critical sense, Abbé Sevrin has been able to recount detailed facts and to bring to light "behind the scenes" activities. At the same time the rich and complex personality of this prelate of southern origin is made to come alive—ebullient and combative to excess; intransigent and authoritarian, but a man of good character, a partisan convinced of the necessary union of throne and altar; a bishop of penetrating intelligence, but of knowledge that was more extended than profound; in brief, according to the expression of the author, Clausel was "remarquable mais inégal." It should be added that this work abounds in interesting comments on the men and events of the time, particularly on Louis-Edouard Pie, Bishop of Poitiers (pp. 206-208, 636-638, 698-700, 732-740); on the origins of the conferences

cf St. Vincent de Paul (pp. 478-479); and on the lack of historical exactitude in the works of Dom Guéranger (pp. 576, 578-580, 588).

The only serious defect with which one is able to charge the author, and it is one which he himself recognizes, is his prolixity. There are some tedious passages and even some repetitions, and the author's anxiety to afford the greatest possible exactness for local historians accents this impression. These faults do not, however, seriously detract from the basic value and interest of the work.

ROGER AUBERT

Université Catholique de Louvain

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

The Catholic Church in America: An Historical Bibliography. By Edward R. Vollmar, S.J. (New Brunswick: Scarecrow Press. 1956. Pp. xxvii, 354. $7.50.)

In several ways Father Vollmar's publication supplements the *Select Bibliography of the History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1947), by John Tracy Ellis. Its 4,450 entries expand considerably on the latter's list of 775, primarily through the addition of periodical articles, and secondarily, by having as its chronological scope publications issued from 1850 through 1949; annual supplements from 1950 to the present are being carried in the *Historical Bulletin*. Ellis is "select" and often has critical notes; Vollmar is intended to be comprehensive, does not carry critical notes, and includes many articles of decidedly secondary significance. Ellis' arrangement is one largely based on classification according to the three major periods of American history; Vollmar is arranged alphabetically by author (or title for anonymous entries), relying on a fairly adequate subject index for analysis. Vollmar has some entries for marginal materials, e.g., provincial council and synodal acta, pastoral letters, etc., while only the more significant are to be found in Ellis. Vollmar, however, is weaker on this point than he should be since he refers most briefly (entry C82) to the microfilm collection assembled jointly by the libraries of Woodstock College and the Catholic University of America in the late 1940's, but he fails to provide the needed table of contents to make the material known.

In his introduction Vollmar points up the need of further listing of unpublished master's and doctor's dissertations. As a test the reviewer compared the list of 214 M.A. dissertations in the history of the American Church submitted to the Catholic University of America through 1955

and found that only thirty-eight of these had ever appeared in printed form as periodical articles or as books. A further revelation was the small number of post-graduation articles written by those who had received advanced degrees. At first glance the listing of over 4,000 entries would seem to imply completeness; yet a comparison with the shelflist of the Catholic University of America Library revealed these omissions which are here arranged by their appearance in the classification rather than alphabetically by author:

*Enzlberger, Johannes. *Schematismus der katholischen geistlichkeit deutscher zunge in den Vereinigten Amerikas* (Milwaukee, Hoffmann, 1892).

Sermons Delivered during the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, October, 1866 (Baltimore, Kelly & Piet, 1866).

*Clarke, Richard Henry. *History of the Catholic Church in the United States . . .* (Philadelphia, Gebbie, 1889-1890) 2 vols.

Clarke, Richard Henry (Ed.). *The Illustrated History of the Catholic Church in the United States of America . . .* (Philadelphia, Gebbie, 1889) 7 vols.

*Hecker, Isaac T. *The Catholic Church in the United States . . .* (New York, Catholic Publication Society, 1879).

Knights of Columbus. *Commission on Religious Prejudices.* Report. (Seattle, Washington Supreme Council, 1915-1917) 3 vols in 1.

Delassus, Henri. *L'Américanisme et la conjuration antichrétienne.* (Paris, Société de St. Augustine, 1899).

Gmeiner, John. *The Church and Foreignism* (St. Paul, Brown, Treacy, 1891).

Colored Catholic Congress. Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses. (Cincinnati, American Catholic Tribune, 1893).

Magnier, John. *Short Life of the Venerable Servant of God, John Nepomucene Neumann, C.SS.R.* (St. Louis, Herder, 1897).

* Represented by Library of Congress cards.

Others of a similar nature could be cited, e.g., the compiler states (p. ix) that he began with 1850 because of the appearance in that decade of Thomas D'Arcy McGee's *Catholic History of North America* which is, however, omitted from the main list. One may also note in passing that the index fails to refer to the biographical sketch of McGee in the "General Survey," nor does it refer to the other historians surveyed, e.g., Guilday, Moosmüller, Sheat, *et al.* The twenty pages of the "General

Survey" of American Catholic historiography will be useful for the beginner.

That the compiler has performed a valuable service cannot be doubted; that it could have been improved through consultation of other libraries' holdings and through the inclusion of marginal materials in the areas of canon law, pamphlet publications, and unpublished materials is also evident. A list of the serial files analyzed would also have been helpful. No one bibliography is ever perfect. This one will stand as another useful attempt to probe particularly the riches in serial files.

EUGENE P. WILLGING

The Catholic University of America

A Study of the Movement for German National Parishes in Philadelphia and Baltimore (1787-1802). By V. J. Fecher, S.V.D. [Analecta Gregoriana, Vol. LXXVII]. (Rome: Gregorian University. 1955. Pp. xxxii. 283. $4.00.)

From some points of view this study, a dissertation written at the Gregorian University in Rome, may seem extremely limited. It deals in the wide field of national parishes with only the German group, and actually only a small portion of these; for it is restricted to a consideration of but two of their parishes, Holy Trinity in Philadelphia and St. John the Evangelist in Baltimore. Further, only a fifteen-year period comes under examination.

In spite of these limitations, however, Father Fecher shows how the area under discussion was connected with all the major problems and questions faced by the American Church in its formative period. There was, e.g., the problem of the terrible shortage of priests, as well as the unfortunate shortcomings of some of those who were available. The Helbrons, Goetz, Elling, and Reuter were among the names that fit in the latter category. Likewise, there was the widespread difficulty with trusteeism, whether that institution was the result of reliance on the Protestant pattern of church government, an attempt to copy the European *jus patronatus* or the German *Kirchenrat,* or a combination of these. In this regard, Oellers and his trustee counterparts in Philadelphia and Baltimore played a big role—in electing pastors, in determining parish policy, and in refusing to recognize the bishop or even the Holy See. Again, there was here a foreshadowing of the knotty problem of the nineteenth century, the conflict of the various nationalities that came to the

United States and the task of assimilating them into an American whole; so involved did the effort become at times that, as Father Fecher points out, the Germans were frequently to be found clinging desperately to what they considered their native rights while at the same time claiming the privileges of American freedom.

More specifically, the author reviews the fairly familiar story of the two German schisms or revolts in Philadelphia and of the one in Baltimore, and in this he manages to correct a number of errors in the commonly accepted facts of the situation. He then analyzes the sources, especially the Roman documents, to sift out the reasons and motives that governed the various principals who are permitted to express their views in their own words. Finally, in the third section Father Fecher makes an appraisal of the two sides of the disagreements. It is unfortunate that this type of procedure, although quite logical and well worked out, at the same time makes for a great deal of repetition, a factor which makes it somewhat difficult for sustained reader interest. But, perhaps, this approach was necessary to maintain a separation of the objective and subjective aspects of the story. Again, the publication of this work abroad opened the way for errors by printers unfamiliar with English. The result is an annoying number of misspellings, transpositions, errors in capitalization, as well as alternations between various acceptable spellings of words.

Aside, however, from these minor shortcomings, Father Fecher has succeeded in correcting, adding to, and broadening our knowledge of one phase of the movement for national parishes in the United States. It is true that history has proved that these parishes served what was essentially only a transitory purpose. Nevertheless, they played a large part in the forming of the American Church. Their story deserves more attention than it has hitherto received, the kind of consideration that Father Fecher has given here to some of its German aspects.

JOHN W. BOWEN

St. Charles College
Catonsville

Seek For A Hero: The Story of John Boyle O'Reilly. By William G. Schofield. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1956. Pp. viii, 309. $3.95.)

He was a man of heroic mold, a rare, great, exquisite-souled man, the most remarkable, the most delightful in the world. So spoke Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, George Parson Lathrop, and others when they heard

that John Boyle O'Reilly was dead at the age of forty-nine, twenty years after his incredible escape from a British penal colony in Australia to the United States. The University of Notre Dame honored him with a degree and Dartmouth College made him an honorary member of the Phi Beta Kappa in recognition of his contributions to American life; Boston erected a statue as a tribute to the power of his pen and a lasting reminder of his ideals. Despite the statue, O'Reilly has been forgotten. This biography, by an able Boston journalist, has been written to keep this name alive and to introduce O'Reilly to those who have not had the pleasure and the profit of knowing him. The author has succeeded and deserves our thanks.

This is not a critical biography and the author had no intention of writing one. He has admitted his dependence on James Jeffrey Roche's biography published a year after O'Reilly's death in 1890. This has been supplemented by research in Boston newspapers during the years O'Reilly ranked among the top journalists. The letters used appear to be limited to those published by Roche. This work, then, does not replace Roche's, but on the whole it is a better introduction to O'Reilly. The emphasis is on the incredible adventures like his escape from the Australian prison on the *Gazelle* and the rescue a few years later of his fellow prisoners by New Bedford whalers on the *Catalpa*. Hollywood could not ask for more exciting scripts than these two episodes. Many readers, however, will find the chapters on O'Reilly's two decades in the United States far too brief. They will want to know more about the impact of this man on the American scene, on the Irish adjusting their loyalities to their adopted nation, on the Yankee mind, on O'Reilly's battle against injustices, and especially against discrimination toward the Negroes. Readers will likewise wish to know more about the high level of Catholic journalism stimulated by him and found in Boston periodicals like the *Pilot*, the *Sacred Heart Review*, and *Donahoe's Magazine*, and more about the Catholic literary group O'Reilly inspired, on young writers like Louise Imogen Guiney whose first poems appeared in the *Pilot* under a pseudonym and whose first volume of verse was dedicated to O'Reilly. The decline after his death in unmistakeable.

There is a need for a critical study of John Boyle O'Reilly and his impact on American life. This happy introduction to the man may entice some one to do it.

WILLIAM L. LUCEY

College of the Holy Cross

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

Mediaeval Political Ideas. Edited by Ewart Lewis. Two Volumes. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954. Pp. xii, 356; v, 357-661. $12.50.)

In the preface to this extremely useful collection, in English translation, of mediaeval sources of political thought, Mrs. Lewis says that the book is addressed not so much to mediaeval historians as to political theorists, and to the latter not so much as historians of theory as simply persons capable of understanding an idea. That is the real achievement of Mrs. Lewis' book, and it would be unfortunate were we to suppose that its contribution lay primarily in the extension of the "apparatus" of scholarship. Certainly Mrs. Lewis has here made accessible many important sources of mediaeval political ideas; but the painstaking and devoted work has been in behalf of ideas themselves, and not "background." Political theorists, as Mrs. Lewis suggests, have so long "surreptitiously (wished) that merciful oblivion would again blot out those teeming centuries that intervene between . . . Cicero and Machiavelli," that they are scarcely any longer aware that mediaeval political thought has any significance other than "background." It is the intrinsic meaning of mediaeval political ideas that the editor, both by the selections themselves and by the very able introductions to them, brings to our attention. And, somewhat curiously, that an idea means anything beyond having had it is a notion quite absent from the elaborate apparatus of research among political theorists —speaking generally.

The collection of mediaeval sources, with the introductions, are ordered topically: the idea of law, property, political authority, the individual and community, the structure of government, the structure of authority in the Church, the problem of empire, and *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. It is a very representative collection, including, not only the better known writers, but authors as inaccessible as Aegidius Romanus, Cusa, Tholommeo of Lucca, and James of Viterbo. I imagine that many political theorists who carefully consult these volumes will be surprised to discover what it is that they scarcely knew—I do not mean mediaeval political ideas, but, on the contrary, what precisely Locke, Bodin, Machiavelli *et al* were driving at. For the implications of the modern tradition are rarely understood because of the oblivion into which the original ideas have fallen. As Mrs. Lewis well says, "the implications of an idea are certainly part of its interest, but the first problem is to define the idea itself."

The volumes are provided with extraordinarily good notes, biblography, and index.

CHARLES N. R. MCCOY

The Catholic University of America

Caravaggio Studies. By Walter Friedlaender. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. xxviii, 320; 117 figures; 136 plates $25.00.)

Fruit of the decades of Friedlaender's attention to Caravaggio, his book is a treasurehouse of materials for the understanding of this most problematic figure in the history of European painting. It is not conceived as a full and final appraisal of the artist and his *oeuvre,* but as a collection of well wrought units to be used by subsequent scholars.

The six essays of which Part I consists are very disparate, and no effort to homogenize them has been made. But they have a higher unity. For there emerges from their biographical and critical substructure a reasonably clear and orderly idea of the artistic and cultural ambient of Caravaggio, and some conception of his role in it. Caravaggio is clearly shown in that dual capacity accorded to the great: on the one hand, as representing his milieu, on the other hand, as opposing and transforming it. At individual points Friedlaender will meet objections. Not all will agree with his confident derivation from Dürer's *Large Horse* of the horse in Caravaggio's *Conversion of St. Paul*; and some will raise their eyebrows at his equally confident analysis of the psychology of Caravaggio's horse. Yet Friedlaender's total presentation will be applauded, and most readers will be fascinated by his suggestive ideas regarding the close relationship, the spiritual kinship, between Caravaggio and the circle of San Filippo Neri.

Part II is a *catalogue raisonné* of Caravaggio's works. A notion of its completeness may be given by mentioning that it runs to about ninety pages. For professional students this part will long remain the most used, and useful, of the volume. On the whole, Friedlaender judiciously steers a middle course between the Scylla of doubt and of rejection and the Charybdis of acceptance and of expansionism.

Part III of the book represents a remarkable achievement. It contains in full the basic sources for the study of Caravaggio, both the biographical and the documentary. Each text is given in the original and in English translation. Perhaps, only those who have struggled with the problems such old texts present will be fully aware of the industry and acumen which have gone into the collaborative preparation of this part of the book. But none will fail to appreciate the opportunity of finding in accessible English the thrilling contemporary and near-contemporary records of the spectacular career of a painter of such compelling and abiding influence. Irrespective of the trends of future criticism and connoisseurship, this section of the book is bound to retain its value.

In the flood of recent publications on Caravaggio, Friedlaender's work stands out conspicuous for the scale on which it is conceived and for the conscientious care with which it has been brought to completion.

JOHN SHAPLEY

The Catholic University of America

Renaissance Diplomacy. By Garret Mattingly. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1955. Pp. 323. $6.00).

This book is an important contribution to the literature dealing with the Renaissance. For, although much has been written on the political history of that complex period, little has appeared in English dealing with the practical methods of diplomacy, the character of diplomatic agents, the nature of immunities, and the routine of diplomatic business. Professor Mattingly states that he has been able to examine only a few segments of the materials stored up in archives and all but unused. To those of us who have had the opportunity to look into some aspect of this history of diplomacy and have had stacks of unpublished materials placed before us by archivists this statement appears unduly modest. We may be sure, however, that the author's former study of Catherine of Aragon has led him soundly into the intricacies of the diplomatic activities of the Spanish monarchs—the most consistent masters of political and military policy of the time, the most persistent in the pursuit of diplomatic objectives, and the most powerful secular force in Europe between Charles VIII's invasion of Italy in 1494 and the Thirty Years' War which began in 1618.

Mediaeval society was highly complex and possessed many elements of originality. Romans and Germans had made their contributions to practices in communications and intercourse. Particularly fruitful was the share of the Christian community, especially in feudal days as may be seen in the messages of king to king revealed, e. g., in the Song of Roland. Roman and canon law helped shape these practices which reflected Christian ideas. Tracing diplomatic methods genetically from this great feudal age, the author discusses such agents as herald, *procuratores, legati, nuncii,* and *ambassiatores,* and describes such practices as separate missions, *per diem* allowances, letters of credence, and notarial instruments. The tremendous transformations in social and economic life effected between 1000 and 1300 also witnessed the advent of more centralized governments which were more efficient in the discharge of public business than was possible in the purely feudal communities of former days. These changes in political life, more advanced in northern Italy than elsewhere, witnessed the prac-

tice of maintaining resident diplomatic agents as early as 1430. This practice became universal in Italy from the Peace of Lodi in 1454 to Charles VIII's invasion in 1494. During this latter period were established permanent embassies provided with staffs of agents, secrtaries, and menials. These agents made minute reports of anything that might interest governments they represented. Their archives were a storehouse of information. Their purpose ostensibly was friendship, peace, and common welfare. Such Italian diplomats were gentlemen courtiers possessing a humanist education and spoke Latin fluently more or less after the manner of Cicero.

But the events following Charles VIII's invasion of Italy brought forth great changes in politics. The center of international political forces shifted, first to France, next to Spain. Italian power politics were merged with the wider activity of the French and Spanish crowns. Italian diplomatic procedures, first adopted by the courts of France and Spain, were copied in other countries. Especially effective was the Spanish staff of agents chosen by the king to guide the permanent embassies directly under royal supervision. Everywhere was evident Italian example. During the period from the Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis in 1559 to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, when the peace of Europe was disturbed by the wars of religion, some diplomatic agents made use of such questionable practices as espionage, intrigue, spying, betrayal, and bluff; but on the whole diplomats followed an honorable course and were respected as ideal ambassadors, generally well-to-do, well-born, handsome in physique, courteous, educated, and speaking a variety of languages, especially Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish.

The author devotes but one short chapter to the emergence of a "law of nations." Obviously a great deal of study still is necessary to trace genetically the development of its antecedents—Roman legal ideas, mediaeval ethics as clarified by St. Thomas Aquinas, the principles laid down by Vittoria and other great Spanish jurists, and the writings of Grotius. All too brief as this closing chapter may be, it effectively points out the historical and ethical problems involved.

HENRY S. LUCAS

University of Washington

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Queen Victoria and Her Prime Ministers. By Algernon Cecil. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. vii, 356. $6.00).

This work is a delightful series of essays written by Algernon Cecil, who, in heart and mind, shares the point of view and values of a past age.

Cynic, skeptic, conservative, no great admirer of capitalism or democracy, Mr. Cecil voices Lecky's judgment "that between 1832 and 1867 England possessed as good a constitution as at any time in her history." Distrustful of the Utilitarians and the Fabians, of progress and of change, the author laments the passing of an age, an age in which humanitarianism and decency, custom, tradition, patriotism, the Church, and the queen were symbols of a dynamic conservative creed. And yet, Cecil's conservatism transcends the Toryism of Lord Eldon and the Tory democracy of Randolph Churchill (the elder). It is rooted in the conservatism of Burke and is in obvious sympathy with Benjamin Disraeli's efforts to formulate a conservative creed, which would stand firm against the attacks of rationalism and liberalism.

Although not a definitive scholarly work, this volume is a most useful account for both its details and its many perceptive comments. The chapters on Lord Melbourne, Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Disraeli are particularly fascinating. The author's treatment of the Oxford Movement, the Church of England, and the Irish Question shows moderation and good taste and at times displays keen historical insight. Mr. Cecil's reliance upon Halévy's estimate of Peel is unfortunate, for as a result he fails to note the proper significance of the Maynooth grant. It is true that Peel had a more complete grasp of the Irish situation in 1845 than at any time in his political career. Nevertheless, his attempt to handle the Irish issue led to an outburst of "no-Popery" sentiment which split his Conservative Party, as he had previously done in the passage of the Catholic Emancipation measure. Despite this important omission, Algernon Cecil has made a worthy contribution to the historical literature of the Victorian period with this forcefully written book.

GILBERT A. CAHILL

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Vichy: Political Dilemma. By Paul Farmer. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. vi, 376. $5.50.)

Near the end of his book Mr. Farmer remarks that "In a study of contemporary history, such as this, it is a hard enough task to establish the bare record of what transpired. It is still harder to draw conclusions that have more warrant than a mere personal opinion. Even if we seek to make our estimate only within the narrow bounds of an historical appraisal, endeavoring simply to determine what circumstances induced the men of Vichy to act as they did and what were the consequences of

their actions, we can reach no more than tentative conclusions" (p. 336). Thus it would appear that the author was himself well aware that the conclusions which he does draw are not as clear as they might be. This is the book's principal weakness—a fundamental lack of clarity in the conclusions reached. Otherwise, it is a rather careful piece of work which strives so hard to be objective that it is bound to bring down the criticism of those who have nothing but hatred for Vichy and all it represented.

Farmer endeavors to review and to appraise dispassionately all the evidence he can muster bearing on the government that took over the rule of France in 1940 and continued it until 1944. Here one must observe that he failed to consult surviving individuals whose roles for or against Vichy in those years were important. If he did this, he does not make it clear to the reader. From a study of the record, he concludes that most of the men of Vichy "were neither heroes nor villains. Like their adversaries, they were, rather, men who acted from a mixture of high and low motives, in search of both public and private interest."

Reviewing the years between 1918 and 1940, he finds that France's dilemma was her inability either to withdraw into isolation or to organize a system of defense against the threat of a resurgent German militarism. Here both the United States and Great Britain must recognize their own vulnerability to criticism, not rest content to allow France to shoulder the onus. Reviewing the history of those years does much to explain Vichy. Examination of the record since 1944 is more difficult. We are still too close to the Vichy years. Nevertheless, it is a matter of growing recognition that Vichy's influence is not negligible, and that as time passes it may well have a profound influence upon the evolution of French national life.

Although the work is virtually devoid of footnotes (a point on which it is, perhaps, open to criticism), there is a most useful bibliography and a satisfactory index.

THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Ethical and Religious Factors in the German Resistance to Hitler. By Mother Mary Alice Gallin. O.S.U. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1955. Pp. x, 231. $2.50.)

Few episodes in recent German history have been studied as thoroughly as the German resistance to Hitler. Its members who survived the Nazi

vengeance after the abortive bomb plot of July 20, 1944, as well as historians on both sides of the Atlantic, have reconstructed the movement in detail. Their memoirs and histories depict a loosely organized movement, partly civilian and partly military, moving by fits and starts with now one group and now another taking the initiative. For lack of an overarching political conviction the resistance people could never unite as a party having a definite program, either for overthrowing the regime or for establishing a new one. To the very end the resistance movement represented the courageous individualism of idealists agreed mainly in their enmity to Hitler. Only his vengeance, visited ruthlessly on anyone or any circle known to have harbored anti-Nazi opinions, made the resistance appear to be a unified conspiracy.

Because individual conviction predominated in the German resistance, Mother Mary Alice's study of the ethical and religious factors in it is especially appropriate. Her painstaking research has raised pertinent questions for the theologians to answer; she has also made a substantial contribution to our understanding of how opposition movements develop and function in a totalitarianism. Her sober and honest appraisal shows only too well that for Christians the moral imperative to overthrow a tyrant, far from being clear and unmistakable, is fraught with ambiguity.

Catholic political teaching does not sanction a right to revolution until all the peaceful means have been exhausted, a sequence more appropriate to the civil liberty of a parliamentary regime than the stifling air of contemporary dictatorship. Even tyrannicide, despite Mariana's sixteenth-century justification, now has a doubtful propriety in the eyes of most Catholic moral theologians. German Protestantism gave Hitler's domestic foes even less moral guidance since the Lutheran tradition has long upheld resignation and obedience to the established political authority. Violence also transcended the passive opposition to Hitler counselled before the war by both Catholic and Protestant churchmen. Neither the German intellectual tradition nor its jurisprudence gave much prominence to arguments for revolution based on natural law.

Where did the German resistance find its ethical motive? It came less from religious than from idealist sources, less from institutional guidance than from the depths of conscience. In keeping with this circumstance the author has wisely emphasized the key resistance figures and their motives, restricting her analysis to the socially patterned aspects of the German character—such as the civil servants' and officers' readiness to suppress private judgment in favor of uncritical obedience. The Germans have so prized loyalty as a character trait that most officers took their oath to Hitler more seriously than their misgivings about the immorality of his political aims and methods.

Yet it is evident that the resistance people approved some of these aims, to the extent that they coincided with German nationalist and imperialist ambition. Why, for example, did the resistance begin to act only when the German military situation had become desperate? This concern for Germany's national existence deserves more attention in an inquiry about ethical motives. And why were the German conspirators reluctant to co-operate with resistance movements in the German-occupied territories? The conspirators' claim to have acted for humanity stands or falls on the answer.

WILLIAM O. SHANAHAN

University of Notre Dame

LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

The Cabildo in Peru under the Hapsburgs. A Study in the Origins and Powers of the Town Council in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1530-1700. By John Preston Moore. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 309. $6.00.)

The failure of democracy to develop in Spanish America has been partially attributed to the decline of the cabildo, perhaps the only truly creole institution of government in Spanish colonial America. In making such judgments, political scientists have frequently, and sometimes unfairly, compared the cabildos unfavorably with the New England town meetings. Indeed, the work at hand contains a passing, but just, comparison of the two institutions (p. 135, n 32). On the other hand, interest has been centered on the cabildos because of their appearance in the forefront of the revolutionary movements. Decadent as they seem to have been, they were, nonetheless, sufficiently vigorous in themselves and in their extended form, the *cabildo abierto*, to set underway movements which, if not egalitarian, were libertarian.

Despite such attention, there has not been until now any adequate study of them. Mr. Moore, as was his intention as stated in his preface (p. vii), has partially filled the gap by presenting an admirable and closely written analysis of town government during the Hapsburg rule. In this rather short work, the author examines intensively the various aspects of municipal political life. Especially interesting to this reviewer are his sections on Elections (Chapter V), the duties and functions of the officials (Chapter VI), the Cabildo Abierto (Chapter VIII), and the Cabildo and the Church (Chapter XIV).

The period under consideration saw the demise of free or semi-free local political activity. This state of affairs was inherited from Spain for, unfortunately, the principal towns of Spanish America were founded during the period when the Spanish cities were being deprived of their political rights. Mr. Moore sums up the cabildos' fate by stating: ". . . for the generality of towns and cities there was an almost uninterrupted downward trend in municipal liberties from the reign of Philip II to the outset of the Revolution" (p. 76). Since the period under consideration does not include the rule of the Bourbons, this reviewer would welcome a complementary volume tracing the further decline until the resurgence of 1810. If there is a future work it should be of greater length than this which is far too compressed. Frequently the reader fails to see the pattern because of the details.

GEORGE C. A. BOEHRER

Georgetown University

The University in the Kingdom of Guatemala. By John Tate Lanning. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1955. Pp. xviii, 331. $5.75.)

It would, perhaps, seem to be something more than coincidence which brought to my desk John Tate Lanning's latest work. In 1946, while on sabbatical leave in Guatemala, I did my research in the home of the archivist, Professor J. Joaquin Pardo, on unedited documents dealing with the problems of Church-State relationships. I worked in Professor Pardo's house because Professor Lanning had arrived ahead of me and was using the very limited facility provided for working in the archives (I had the better part of that bargain). I also heard at that time Professor Lanning's report on his 1949 trip to Seville.

This work on the University of San Carlos is a lively and provocative one. The titles of the chapters are such as would warrant the attention of every college or university today, e.g., "College or University?", "Immemorial Peculation Overcome," "University Government," "The Academic Chair," "The Academic Degree: Formalities and Fanfare," "The Academic Degree: Problems and Privileges." Any college business manager would enjoy the section on money, shelter, and earthquakes and the last chapter entitled "An Anguished State" which considers the miserable condition of finances in the country as affecting the university and fund-raising devices. Librarians are still arguing the debate of

"Useful versus Stale Scholastic Books." Catholic scholars in particular will be interested in the second and fourth chapters, "Dominicans and Jesuits Fight it Out" and "Jesuit University versus Public University."

As is the situation today, the overwhelming impression emerging from the records of the University of Guatemala is a chronic, depressing lack of money. The fact that faculty salaries were very low and that chairs were esteemed primarily for prestige value has a familiar ring. On the other hand, the author points out that the low price of domestic produce made a few hundred pesos very valuable. Professors receiving 500 pesos could each have purchased 108,000 pounds of beef for his annual salary. At fifty cents a pound, which is low for today, an American professor would now need a salary of $54,000 to buy as much!

In dealing with the student, his life in and outside the university, Professor Lanning points out the grave concern that the authorities showed about housing. Students were required "to live in honest houses above suspicion and without the slightest note of scandal." There were a few boarding houses (statutable residences) run by estimable ladies who had the full confidence of the rectors and the professoriate. A very detailed picture of student life is drawn which includes relationships between "town and gown," financial restrictions, holidays, dress, matriculation, race, society, and conduct. The experience of Gil Rodriguez being stripped of his degree by the University of San Carlos because of having been convicted by the Inquisition in Mexico in 1795 is well told.

This volume is proof that a work can be scholarly and at the same time extremely interesting and readable. It should be found in the library of contemporary college administrators. They could use it often, not only for reference but for solace and satisfaction as they compare and contrast their own problems with those of another day. Scholars in the area of Latin American studies will welcome this work. Professor Lanning has been careful in the foreword to attempt clarification of such terms as *constituciones, claustro,* and *oposicion.* There is quite a complete glossary of academic and "other words and terms." There are good illustrations and there is a graph showing the number of degrees conferred in the Kingdom of Guatemala during the years 1625-1821. There are two tables, one of which gives an analysis of the number of degrees conferred (1625-1821), bachelors, licentrates, masters, and doctors in the areas of arts, theology, law, and medicine; the other gives the grand total of degrees conferred in the Kingdom of Guatemala for the same period of time.

MARY P. HOLLERAN

Hampton Institute

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Irish in America. By Carl Wittke. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 319. $5.00.)

It is surprising that this book was not written sooner and equally surprising that when it finally appeared the work was done by an author who does not have an Irish background. The book fulfills a real need. Irish-American history up to now has been a thing of shreds and patches, a period here, an area there. Dr. Wittke has assembled the books, the articles, the graduate dissertations and all together they have proved inadequate. The footnotes attest to the long hours which must have been spent with the files of the various Irish-American newspapers. The saga of the Irish is important not only because they constituted one of several immigrant groups but because they constituted the first large group to arrive after the American Revolution. Their reception, their labors, their struggle upward from squalor and poverty set the pattern which, making certain allowances, the later arrivals followed. An observer in New York's Idlewild airport in 1956 can see in the arriving Puerto Ricans the contemporary version of the immigrant "Paddies" of a century ago. There have been changes due to our supposed social enlightenment, but the immigrants generally find their way to the identical waterfront slums inhabited by their predecessors who arrived on the Black Ball packets.

This book, in twenty-one chapters plus bibliography and index, tells the story in all its detail, from the social conditions in the Ireland of famine days to the Irish participation in World War I. There are chapters on all sorts of specialized relationships of the Irish to their American environment: farming, the Church, politics, the police the Civil War, labor, the professions, the stage, sports, and many others. There is enough here to supply St. Patrick's Day orators with material for years to come. However, the average St. Patrick's Day speaker will probably adapt the material because Professor Wittke is not interested in providing another filiopietistic volume. He is a critical historian and he presents the record as he finds it. It is not always flattering.

The title is too inclusive; the volume makes little effort to present the contemporary scene. Probably nine-tenths of the work is concerned with the nineteenth century, except for a chapter on World War I and a concluding chapter on the State of Eire. Occasionally, the author makes some effort to consider current questions but these references are often sweeping, vague, sometimes misleading, and generally in sharp contrast to the tone of the rest of the book. One gets the distinct impression that

these paragraphs were put in as an afterthought, perhaps at the urging of the publisher. For instance, we read:

> Recent opposition to a federal child-labor amendment, in which Catholic bishops joined with President Lowell of Harvard to oppose the measure; the support of the Church for Franco; a recent tendency to equate communism with liberalism; the controversies over family limitation; the activities of such individuals as Father Coughlin, the Irish radio priest; and the necessity for the Archbishop of Boston to denounce a small, fanatical Catholic group for its anti-Semitism have affected the attitude of some liberal Americans toward the Church (p. 100).

After such a long indictment of ill-defined accusations, the conclusion seems singularly anti-climactic.

Again, we find the following:

> . . . Such anti-Semitic demonstrations have received encouragement from . . . followers of Father Coughlin and Father Edward Lodge Curran, his eastern counterpart. Catholic writers have denounced these priests for their anti-Semitic utterances. . . . Such un-American activities centered largely in the dregs of Boston's Irish community (p. 190).

Readers with long memories will recall the furor of two decades ago over Father Coughlin's alleged anti-Semitism, but the charge against Father Curran, president of the International Catholic Truth Society, comes as a surprise. At any rate, allegations of bigotry and un-Americanism against anyone, and *a fortiori* against prominent clergymen, are serious business and demand proof. The author offers no documentation at all; Dr. Wittke has too much integrity as a scholar deliberately to take refuge in the journalistic evasion "Catholic writers." Furthermore, since Father Coughlin is assigned to Detroit and Father Curran to Brooklyn, their connection with the Boston Irish community—whether the "dregs" or otherwise—is somewhat obscure.

But aside from these occasional lapses the book is an example of thorough research and organization. Dr. Wittke has made another real and important contribution in his continuing study of immigration.

FRANKLIN E. FITZPATRICK

Cathedral College
Brooklyn

Strangers in the Land. Patterns of American Nativism: 1865-1925. By John Higham. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1955. Pp. xiv, 431. $6.00.)

Professor Higham's *Strangers in the Land* is a notable contribution to the historiography of immigration. It is no less important as an addition to intellectual history. Higham defines nativism as an "intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign (i.e., 'Un-American') connections" (p. 4). This tight definition is occasionally awkward, but it serves as a means by which the exclusion of some aspects of main subjects can be justified. This reviewer was impressed by Higham's success in relating the forces of nativism to the larger phases of American history in the industrial era. He carefully correlates nativism, e.g., with economic conditions in the depressions of the 1870's and 1890's and also with shorter slumps such as those just before and after World War I. Another example is the author's ability to relate embittered agrarianism and progressivism to extreme forms of nativism. Nor does Higham dodge an intangible when the path of integration and interpretation brings him to one.

Some readers may be disappointed that Emma Lazarus' song—"Give me your . . . huddled masses yearning to breathe free"—does not furnish the dominant melody of the book. Yet the reader is forewarned, for Higham defines the scope of the book as excluding the "whole story of how America's multitudinous nationalities have met and faced one another." Although emphasizing conflict and strain, he acknowledges that "cooperation has been important too—perhaps more important than conflict" (p. x). The book examines many and over-lapping kinds of xenophobias. Not the least important is anti-Catholicism. Because of its frame of reference, however, *Strangers in the Land* should not be thought of as a sequel to Professor Billington's *Protestant Crusade*. Higham discusses anti-Catholicism as one of several large aspects of nativism, but he is committed solely to an exploration of those phases of the subject which concern foreign connections, or the fear of them.

This excellent and readable volume ends with the enactment into law of a fundamental change in American policy and dominant ideology. This marks the formal completion of the study. Higham refers briefly to 1928, however, remarking that "the really significant fact was that 100 percent Americanism had receded enough so that a Catholic with a progressive record could win a Presidential nomination" (p. 329). This reviewer believes this is one of two very significant facts. The second is that, even

though the Klan's strength had waned, the Al Smith campaign revealed a remarkable amount of anti-Romanism. These two facts should be juxtaposed.

Higham's account of extreme racist thinking and propaganda is sobering. He reminds us that the counter forces numbered more than economic prosperity, which played a considerable role. They included "a democratic balance-wheel," which was at work "deep inside the national culture," and which helped to impose limits on nativism. "Even at the height of the Nordic craze, Congressional nativists could not embrace its premises with an entirely good conscience . . . [and] . . . the nation's traditional values undoubtedly exercised a quiet brake on xenophobia" (p. 329).

EDMUND A. MOORE

University of Connecticut

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Arrangements have been completed for the thirty-seventh annual meeting of the Association which will be held in St. Louis on December 28-30 with headquarters at the Hotel Jefferson. The American Historical Association and its affiliated societies will be meeting at the same time and place, and as in past years, a joint session of the A. C. H. A. and the A. H. A. will be a feature of the program. Dr. Martin J. Lowery of De Paul University is chairman of the Committee on Program for this year's meeting.

All Hallows College was opened in Dublin on November 1, 1842, with three professors and one student as the first seminary of the modern Irish Church to be devoted exclusively to training priests for the foreign missions. Up to 1880 the college had sent out 1,056 priests of whom 420 had come to the United States. Many of these missionaries sent back letters to their *alma mater,* and although many were of only a routine character others are of great value in giving a picture of conditions of the Church in all parts of the country as seen through the eyes of these Irish-born missionaries. A systematic reorganization of the college archives for the period 1842-1877, undertaken two years ago, revealed a total of 3,033 letters of which 1,196 were from this country. In all, fifty-two American dioceses of that thirty-five year span were represented in the correspondence as follows: San Francisco, 64; Hartford, 97; Boston, 79; Sacramento [Marysville], 79; Springfield [Alton], 57; Dubuque, 50; Burlington and Richmond 45 each; Pittsburgh, 39; Newark, 34; Omaha, 32; Chicago, 31; and Savannah, 30. The letters extend in time from one of February 3, 1843, from Bishop Antoine Blanc of New Orleans to Father John Hand (1807-1846), founder of All Hallows, congratulating him on having opened the missionary seminary and speaking of arrangements for adopting students, to one from Bishop Eugene O'Connell of Marysville, California, on December 18, 1877, to Father William Fortune, fifth president of the college, in which O'Connell enclosed five pounds for the famine-stricken flock of the Bishop of Madras and described some of his local problems regarding marriage regulations and the question of a coadjutor bishop there in northern California.

The 1,196 letters from the United States for 1842-1877 are all that are at present classified, but the work is progressing on the correspondence for the later period. The early correspondence was put in order by Patrick

F. Murray, an alumnus of All Hallows of 1954, before he departed in October, 1956, for New Zealand to serve on the missions in the Diocese of Auchland. It was part of Father Murray's work for his master of arts degree in University College, Dublin. A few of these early letters had already been printed in the nine volumes of the annual *Report* published between 1848-1858, the five volumes of the *Annals*, 1859-1863, and the twenty volumes entitled *All Hallows Annual* published between 1896 and 1956. All the printed volumes have now been microfilmed, as well as the correspondence for the period 1842-1877, through an arrangement with the National Library of Ireland whose director, Dr. Richard J. Hayes, launched a few years ago an ambitious program for microfilming all available manuscript sources for the history of Ireland wherever they were to be found. As a result of Dr. Hayes' efforts an immense amount of manuscript material has been assembled on microfilm in the National Library in Dublin and the program is being vigorously pursued in libraries, archives, and private collections in both the old world and the new.

According to the 1955-1956 issue of the *Annual* there are at present 343 All Hallows alumni working in the United States, and of the 206 members of last year's student body seventy-nine have been designated to serve in American dioceses.

The Academy of American Franciscan History has recently received through the kindness of friends in California a complete copy in photostat form of the collection entitled "Letters of the Catholic Missionaries of California, 1769-1849," now preserved in the Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco. The letters, almost all of them originals, number more than 2,550. Formerly these documents were a part of the archive of the Spanish and Mexican governors at Monterey. In 1854 they came into the hands of an Alexander S. Taylor who had them bound in book form, and in 1860 he presented them to the St. Mary's Library Association of San Francisco to be placed at the service of the members of that group. At the time of the presentation the association had an index made of the individual documents, and later they were transferred to the archdiocesan archives.

While this collection contains letters from all the California missionaries, including Padre Serra, the vast bulk of the correspondence dates from the years after 1802. As might be expected from the source of the documents, most of them are communications between the civil authorities and the missionaries and deal with a wide range of topics: foreign intrusions, Indian troubles, public works erected with Indian labor, state of the

missions, introduction of the vine, and relations between the missions and the white settlers. The single topic which appears most frequently in the letters is the aid furnished by the missions for the support of the troops in Upper California after 1812. After communications were interrupted with Mexico, the missions furnished not only the food for the troops, but also the clothes they wore, as well as a great part of the powder which they required. Indeed, the documents in this collection indicate that the labor of the mission Indian was the most important factor in California until gold was discovered.

A new historical group for the upper Great Lakes region was founded at Marquette, Michigan, on June 22 to be known as the Baragaland Historical Society. The purpose of the organization is to promote study in the history of the Catholic Church in the area where Frederic Baraga (1797-1868), first Bishop of Marquette, labored. The society will have access to the extensive source materials assembled by the Diocese of Marquette, a broad collection that will be of value to those interested in various aspects of regional history. The officers are the Most Reverend Thomas L. Noa, Bishop of Marquette, honorary president; David Gass of Marquette as president; and Joseph Gill of Wakefield, Michigan, as secretary-treasurer. Charter members include Victor F. Lemmer, president of the Historical Society of Michigan, Joseph Gregorich, historian of the Bishop Baraga Association, and Father Charles J. Carmody of St. Thomas the Apostle Church, Escanaba. The first issue of the society's bulletin is scheduled to appear this autumn from the headquarters at 444 S. Fourth Street, Marquette.

There is probably no popular Catholic journal in the English-speaking world that devotes more space and serious attention to the history of the Church than the *Tablet* of London. Not only are its writers usually well informed on the history of the Church in England (if they do not always display as enlightened an attitude on the Church in the United States), but the emphasis given from time to time on the problems relating to research and source materials for church history in England is somewhat notable. A case in point was the article, "The Church in Essex," in the issue of June 9, 1956, which was occasioned by an exhibition of local ecclesiastical documents arranged by the Records Office of the Essex County Council. It was held at Ingatestone Hall, a Tudor mansion of the Petre family which, as the author says, had so many important Catholic associations. Manuscripts pertaining to the recusants in Essex were especially prominent in the exhibit and would seem to suggest that in the days

of the penal laws more Catholics in Essex had remained loyal to the old faith than had previously been thought. Local records of this type are becoming increasingly available in the county archives of England, a fact which prompts the author to conclude that "it would appear to be desirable that more and more Catholics come forward to investigate these records." In that connection it is good to know that Michael O'Dwyer of the Catholic Mission Society has as the subject of his graduate thesis at the University of London the recusants in the County of Essex. Father O'Dwyer is working under the direction of Professor J. E. Neale, the Tudor specialist.

Some recent textbooks in history published in the United States manifest a strange unwillingness to treat the beginnings of Christianity with the dignity and understanding that they deserve. In at least one instance the treatment of the foundation of the Church is frivolous and contains factual errors. Publications of this kind can hardly be excused.

Since December 7-8 will mark the fifteenth anniversary of Pearl Harbor some inquiry is in order about the efforts to preserve the history of American Catholic activities in World War II. During the war some efforts were made to safeguard records of Catholic activities but no centralized agency was created. Documents are now being discarded that will be important for later historians. There is a blank period between the date of an activity and the research of the historian during which many records, unfortunately, are destroyed because of lack of interest.

The Department of History at the University of Notre Dame is sponsoring a post-doctoral faculty seminar in American Civilization which will have for its theme during the academic year 1956-1957 the problems centering around "The Idea of American Nationalism." Members of the seminar have been invited from the Departments of History, Education, English, Philosophy, Political Science, and Religion.

Sunday, June 17, witnessed the solemn enthronement in St. Stephen's Cathedral of Franz Koenig, Archbishop of Vienna, who succeeds the late Theodore Cardinal Innitzer in that historic see. Archbishop Koenig, who is fifty-one years of age, made his university studies in Vienna, Rome, Lille, and Innsbruck, where his field of specialization was the

history of the early Church. He served as lecturer in the Faculty of Theology of the University of Vienna for a time and from 1949 to 1952 was associate professor of church history in the University of Salzburg. On August 31, 1952, he was consecrated as Coadjutor Bishop of St. Pölten with the right of succession to Bishop Michael Memelauer. Among his principal writings are *Die Bibel in Lichte der Weltliteratur* (Freiburg, 1949) and the three-volume work, of which he was both editor and a major contributor, *Christus und die Religionen der Erde* (Vienna, 1951). Archbishop Koenig has also contributed to scholarly journals such as *Wort und Wahrheit, Theologische Quartalschrift,* and *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie.*

The new volume of Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., *Worship and Work. Saint John's Abbey and University, 1856-1956* (Collegeville, 1956), will doubtless stimulate further interest in a number of prominent figures in the American Catholic past. Among these is Martin Marty, O.S.B. (1834-1896), the Swiss-born missionary who became the first Abbot of St. Meinrad Abbey in 1870, and was consecrated in February, 1880, as the first Vicar Apostolic of Dakota where he had been laboring among the Indians since his resignation as abbot seven years before. In November, 1889, Marty was named first Bishop of Sioux Falls and in January, 1895, he was transferred to the See of St. Cloud where he died about a year and a half later. Up to the present time there has been no adequate biography of Marty, since *Der Apostel der Sioux Indianer. Bischof Martinus Marty, O.S.B., 1834-96* (Einsiedeln, 1934) by Ildefons Betschart, O.S.B., did not make full use of the available sources. It is welcome news, therefore, to learn that Albert Kleber, O.S.B., former rector of St. Meinrad Seminary, spent the past summer in Europe gathering materials for a life of Marty. Father Albert is known to readers of the REVIEW for his volume, *History of St. Meinrad Archabbey, 1854-1954* (St. Meinrad, 1954). He found a considerable amount of material at Rome in the archives of Propaganda de Fide and the Vatican Secretariat of State, as well as in the archives of the Benedictine abbeys at Sarnen, Engelberg, Einsiedeln, Beuron, and Solemnes.

The Palazzo Strozzi in Florence was the scene on September 2-6 last of a Convegno Internationale di Studi sul Rinascimento which had as its central theme "The Ancient World in the Renaissance." Among the papers read was one by Giuseppe Toffanin entitled "L'Uomo antico nel Rinascimento."

The John Lingard Fellowships in history at the University of Notre Dame have been awarded to Eugene V. Clerk, instructor in history at Bishop Dubois High School, New York, and Marvin R. O'Connell, assistant pastor of St. Mathias Church, Wanda, Minnesota. Fathers Clerk and O'Connell will specialize in the religious history of the sixteenth century under the direction of Dr. Philip Hughes.

Thomas H. D. Mahoney, associate professor of history in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and first vice president of the Association in 1956, will deliver eight lectures during January in the Lowell Lecture Series at Boston.

Promotions in the Department of History at the University of Notre Dame include Richard A. Balfe, Theodore B. Hodges, and Frederick B. Pike to the rank of assistant professor, and L. Leon Bernard and Vincent P. De Santis to the rank of associate professor.

Friedrich Engel-Janosi, professor of modern European history in the Catholic University of America, will deliver a lecture on November 13 on "Toynbee and the Tradition of Universal History," in the McAuley Lecture Series of Saint Joseph College, West Hartford, Connecticut.

Marshall Smelser, associate professor of history in the University of Notre Dame, has received the James A. Forrestal Fellowship for 1956-1957 and will devote the year to a study of the United States Navy during the Federalist regime.

John Kamerick, formerly dean of Lewis College, Lockport, Illinois, has been appointed assistant dean of the College of Arts and Sciences of Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

William Keller has been appointed assistant professor of history in Seton Hall University. Father Keller did his graduate work at the Catholic University of America and Fordham University.

Peter M. Dunne, S.J., author of ten volumes dealing for the most part with Jesuit mission history in colonial Mexico, and president in 1956 of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, celebrated his golden jubilee as a member of the Society of Jesus on July 22. At the Mass of thanksgiving the sermon was preached by his colleague in the University of San Francisco, John B. McGloin, S.J., a member of the Executive Council of our Association.

The Prix Thorlet of the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres for 1956 was awarded to Canon A. L. Gabriel, director of the Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame, for his volume, *Student Life in Ave Maria College, Mediaeval Paris.* His lecture delivered on June 17, 1955, before a session of the academy has been published in the latest issue of the academy's *Bulletin.*

BRIEF NOTICES

BAER, KURT. *Painting and Sculpture at Santa Barbara Mission.* (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1955. Pp. xx, 244. $5.00.)

Mr. Baer is official art historian of the Old Missions and professor of art in the University of California, Santa Barbara. In this book he first gives a brief history of the mission buildings in which he tells that the façade of the church was derived from Vitruvius' *De Architectura* and that the window arches and the imposing fountain in front of the mission are Moorish, the latter hewn by the Indians. The book is mainly a catalogue which describes and explains each item with real enthusiasm, notes artistic qualities, and is fully illustrated. It tells of the Mexican artists who created those works: Miguel Cabrera, Nicolás and Juan Juares, José de Ibarra, etc., and of the artists of Spain whom they imitated: Murillo, Montañéz, Zurbarán, Valdéz Leal, Alonzo Cano. The colorful costumes and dynamic attitudes of the polychromed statues are especially noted, e.g., a St. Michael which seems actually to be dancing in triumph on the fallen monster Lucifer.

Professor Baer seems to judge by the Renaissance standard, i.e., that the greatest art is that which shows the noblest quality of conception and the greatest expressiveness of motif in terms of the greatest naturalness realistic or idealistic. Accordingly, he values most highly the following and similar works: "St. Francis in Prayer," in which he sees Ribera; the remarkably realistic "Father Gonzales Rubio," by Barbieri; the polychromed "St. Francis Holding and Contemplating a Crucifix" (acquired about 1801); four paintings on copper panels showing Tintoretto influence; a magnificent copy of Rubens' "Descent from the Cross," and the Querétaro "Portrait of Fray Junipero Serra." The book is a reliable and inspiring guide. (BROTHER CORNELIUS)

BARBER, ELINOR G. *The Bourgeoisie in 18th Century France.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. xi, 165. $3.50.)

Mrs. Barber has provided here a scholarly, sociological study of the bourgeois class in pre-revolutionary France. Applying the methods of social theory to historical research, she carefully analyzes the class stratification of the age, and then focuses her searchlight on the constantly varying position of the bourgeoisie in that framework. Although consisting of widely diverse elements, from the small retailer up to the intellectual and the legalist with ambitions for elevation to the *noblesse de robe,* the bourgeoisie as a whole is shown to be essentially ambivalent in its whose social outlook. The typical bourgeois, while reflecting the nobility's approval of rigid class stratification, always personally hoped that he might be the exception in the way of social mobility. When this

mobility became increasingly more difficult, due to the feudal reaction which grew as the century advanced, the bourgeois class, especially the middle bourgeoisie of the merchants, manufacturers, lawyers, and doctors, gradually began to find greater cogency in the egalitarian concepts that hitherto had been regarded as purely theoretical.

The author bases her conclusions, which are for the most part suggestive rather than final, on memoirs, journals, as well as on the professional works of the period. Little seems to exist in the form of *livres de raison* for this class of society. Many of the Paris bourgeoisie are shown to have been Jansenist in doctrine. The closeness of these views to Calvinism, with its emphasis on worldly success, is pointed out, as well as the anti-authoritarian attitude of this group. Joined to a weakened faith, it is easy to see how a Jansenist bourgeois could have become the enemy of the whole traditional structure of Church and State. Exception may well be taken to the author's belief that the Catholic ideology viewed society strictly in terms of rich and poor, and hence regarded the social mobility sought by the bourgeoisie as challenging the divine order of things. (WILLIAM KELLER)

BRASSARD, GERARD, A.A. *Armorial of the American Hierarchy.* Volume III, *The New England States.* (Worcester: Tobbs Press, Inc. 1956. Pp. xiii, 149. Plastic, $6.00; imitation leather, $8.00.)

Brother Brassard has devoted the good part of a lifetime to research in the field of ecclesiastical heraldry in Canada and the United States. His *Armorial des Evêques du Canada* was published in Montreal in 1940. He is now bringing out serially a more ambitious work, *Armorial of the American Hierarchy,* in nine volumes. The first of these to be printed is the third which deals with the ecclesiastical provinces of Boston and Hartford. The arms of each bishop are printed in color, and accompanied by the heraldic description and an explanatory note. With each color plate appears also a picture of the bearer of the arms and a short biographical sketch. The addition of this documentary material makes of the work not only a useful heraldic compendium, but also a serious contribution to the written history of the Church in the United States. Brother Brassard has spent more than twenty years collecting the material for his book. In spite of a serious setback in 1953 when much of his manuscript was destroyed by the havoc wrought by the tornado that struck Worcester, he has persevered in the calm determination of the scholar to bring his work to completion. His book will prove a notable contribution to the history of the American Church. It is, therefore, the more regrettable that a more discriminating taste has not been shown in the form in which these important volumes will appear. A better choice of inks might have been made for the color printing, and a simple buckram binding would have lent greater dignity. Heraldry has not only a documentary significance but is also a branch of the fine arts. (WILLIAM WILFRID BAYNE)

BRILLIANT, MAURICE and RENÉ AIGRAIN (Eds.). *Histoire des Religions.* Vol. 4. (Paris: Bloud et Gay. 1956. Pp. 384. $5.23.)

The *Histoire des Religions,* a co-operative production under Catholic auspices, reveals itself more and more as a work of *vulgarisation.* As in all such series, the quality of individual contributions varies considerably, and the editors have not always succeeded in avoiding a certain amount of overlapping—or even omissions. However, this volume, which covers the ancient religions of western Asia, is well done as a whole, and in part makes a definite contribution to the scholarly literature in the field. It is divided as follows: I. "Les Religions Asianiques," by M. Rutten; II. "Palmyréniens, Nabatéens et Arabes du Nord avant Islam," by J. Starcky; III. "La Religion Suméro-Akkadienne," and IV. "La Religion Cananéenne," both by R. Largement; V. "La Religion Sud-Arabe Préislamique," by A. Jamme; VI. "La Religion d'Israël," by A. Vincent. The systematic survey of Sumerian, Hittite, Hurrite, and Elamite religion by Rutten is very useful, although the problem of relationships and influences is treated in a superficial fashion. Particular attention is called to the excellent contributions by Starcky and Jamme, at once the most original and most valuable in the present volume. That by Jamme is largely a record of his own epoch-making researches in the South-Arabian area. In general, the bibliography cited throughout Volume 4 is almost exclusively French; Jamme's section, however, is a welcome exception in this regard. The book has a full "Table des Matières," but there are no illustrations and no index. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

CLARKE, M. L. *The Roman Mind. Studies in the History of Thought from Cicero to Marcus Aurelius.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 168. $3.75.)

In 1953 the author published a valuable survey, *Rhetoric at Rome.* The present work, if not exactly a continuation of the earlier book, is closely related to it in many respects. While again stressing the great influence of Greek education and cultural ideals on Rome in the Late Republic and Early Empire, he is primarily concerned with the impact of Epicureanism and especially of Stoicism on Roman thought and conduct in this period. Strictly speaking, he adds nothing really new to our knowledge, yet his book is quite worthwhile. He has re-examined the sources personally and critically, and he has written on select aspects of his theme in a clear and interesting fashion. The introduction and the chapters on Cicero and Philosophy, The National Spirit, The Stoic Way of Life, and *Humanitas,* are particularly well done. The epilogue, however, contains too many sweeping generalizations and gives an impression of superficiality, which is by no means characteristic of the book as a whole. As in the case of too many new books, the notes are relegated to the end of the work. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

COMBES, ANDRÉ. *La Bienheureuse Thérèse Couderc, fondatrice du Cénacle.* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel. 1956. Pp. 398. 980 fr.)

This book is one of the series, Les Grands Spirituels, published under the direction of Abbé Omer Englebert. It is a study of the interior life of Mother Couderc. The author gives full credit to the biographies of her by G. Longhaye, S.J., and Henri Perroy, S.J., and draws on the study of her made by Mother J. Dehin, Religious of the Cenacle, as well as on the *Summarium* of the process of beatification and other archival material. The author takes as his first task the correction and completion of the factual data on which Longhaye and Perroy based their interpretations. The work is meticulously done. On the basis of this more complete documentation a more penetrating analysis of the spiritual life of Mother Couderc can be made. The author is concerned to show that Mother Couderc's spiritual experiences were from her earliest years of a mystical character. He traces their development with great care and he explains the exterior events of her life in the light of the interior. Her sanctity was peculiarly characterized by silence and self-effacement and since during most of her life she was not involved in the government of the congregation on the highest levels—she described herself as "the fifth wheel of the wagon"—her biography does not serve as a history of the origins of the Cenacle; still less does it throw light upon the milieu in which the congregation came into existence. While the very nature of the book precludes its serving as a study of the times, the work seems to this reviewer to be a model of hagiography because in the analysis of Mother Couderc's life the functions of the historian and psychologist have been admirably carried out, and they have been subordinated to those of the theologian. (M. H. QUINLAN)

GHEON, HENRI. *Mary, Mother of God.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1955. Pp. 194. $10.00.)

The machine age is being very much criticized nowadays because both of its "materialism" and of its alleged bent towards atomic self-destruction. Yet we are all very glad to participate in its many, many benefits. This volume, which is only one of hundreds of magnificent albums of reproduction made possible by modern machine processes, is a rich contribution to familiarity with our cultural and devotional heritage.

One hundred and sixty-four pictures of our Lady have been gathered here, most of them in black and white, but a good number in color. The selection ranges from an old Ravenna mosaic to works by Gauguin and Rousseau, but the majority of the pictures are taken from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. The choice is remarkably interesting. Old favorites, such as Martini's Uffizi Annunciation and Botticelli's Magnificat, are in place side by side with a wealth of less familiar ones such as de la Tour's Education of the Virgin and the powerful Dolorosa from Castagno's Crucifixion. We are happy to say that the freakish and bizarre are wholly absent from the selections. But on other grounds we feel that the Fouquet might have been left out.

The textual contribution is doubly worthwhile. Gheon's introducion divides the collection under suggestive headings such as Mater Amabilis, Mater Dolorosa, etc., and provides a running commentary of much thoughtfulness, originality, and delicate appreciation of the subject matter. After the pictures there is a series of critical notices on each picture by Renee Zeller. These notes are full of informed but not too detailed criticism from the technical viewpoint and contain much reference to historical and literary backgrounds. They are what might be expected from the editor of the *Florilege de Notre Dame.* (JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT)

GRIMM, HAROLD J. *The Reformation Era, 1500-1650.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1954. Pp. xiii, 675. $6.50.)

This book is an attempt to survey the history of Europe from the eve of the Protestant Revolt to the Peace of Westphalia. Religious and political changes are emphasized; social and cultural receive little attention; the economic are almost ignored. A volume endeavoring to cover such a rich, complex segment of European history is clearly a perilous venture. The reviewer fears that Mr. Grimm has only partially succeeded in doing his subject justice. He often fails to make much come to life. Since this is a textbook to be placed in the hands of students, it is to be feared that for many the significance of the era will be lost in the masses of colorless facts which the author presents. One wishes that he had given the reader a more detailed, living account of certain events and a more synthetic account of others. These are more than stylistic criticisms. The nature and purpose of a textbook are in question. If one presents multitudes of facts to the student in this often indigestible form, he may possibly emerge from this maze with a distaste for the period, if not for history itself.

The above considerations have, of course, nothing to do with Mr. Grimm's interpretation of this period. One cannot but rejoice to see another example of the *rapprochement* coming about between Catholic and Protestant historians in their interpretation of the history of the religious revolt of the sixteenth century. Mr. Grimm's attempt to give a just appraisal of the Catholic Reform, while not entirely satisfactory, is gratifying. One can, certainly, quarrel with the affirmation that it is a revival of the best features of mediaeval Christianity, but the evaluation is, at least, positive. The picture of the Protestant reformers, drawn by a Protestant pen, is an honest one. One is astonished, however, to find that

> Unlike the scholastics, who interpreted righteousness or justice only in a legal, retributive sense, as God judging a sinner, Luther now interpreted it in an evangelical sense, as imputing righteousness to a believing sinner, that is, making man acceptable by constantly giving him the attributes of God (pp. 102-103).

It was just a little over a half century ago that Denifle showed conclusively that no western theologian had ever interpreted the "justitia Dei" of *Romans* I, 17, in the retributive sense. A number of other slips can be attributed to the author's unfamiliarity with Catholic theology or terminology, e.g., consecration as the miraculous creation of the Body of Christ!

Some errors of fact should be corrected in a future edition: Tauler was not a pantheist at all, nor may Eckhart be so labelled *sans plus* (p. 8); Hermann von Wied, Archbishop-Elector of Cologne was deposed and *did* embrace Protestantism (p. 497); the date 1519 (p. 248, last line) is a misprint for 1579. (WILLIAM S. BARRON, JR.)

HOFSTADTER, RICHARD. *The Age of Reform. From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1955. Ppp. viii, 328. $4.50.)

This ideologically oriented volume is based on many previous works and much pooling of the fruits of study. Not only has the literature been covered—including many unpublished master's theses—but no less than twenty-six reading and advising colleagues have been utilized. Such humility on the part of the author has resulted in added brilliance as well as an occasional explanatory footnote as if in answer to a friendly warning.

The first six chapters are concerned with Populism and Progressivism. The last moves more quickly and in exploratory fashion from Progressivism to the New Deal. The latter is described in terms not of evolution from the former, but as a "drastic new departure," and its treatment appears to be almost an unnecessary appendage rather than an integral part. The whole approach is in terms of the ideas of most characteristic participants rather than along the lines of a rehash of public or political affairs. The work is self-effacingly presented as a spur to study of the reform movement of the early century. Yet it critically challenges stereotypes, particularly about any straight line movement of reform. Moreover, in the fashion of today's historiography it constantly links past phenomena with present problems.

Mr. Hofstadter's book has been highly and worthily praised. It might be questioned, nonetheless, for some of its self-assured assertions less proved than polished. A general theme of the old Protestant political ethic which conflicted with the urban, machine, immigrant ethic seems to imply no tradition of morality in politics outside of American Protestantism. In the life of John A. Ryan there might have been found a very interesting bridge between Populism and the New Deal. Most Catholics, in this reviewer's opinion, will be surprised to read that the 1928 Smith defeat inflicted "a trauma from which they never fully recovered and the consequences of which still haunt the nation." (p. 298) (HENRY J. BROWNE)

JONES, FRANCIS. *The Holy Wells of Wales.* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1954. Pp. xxi, 226. 12/6.)

This interesting study of the legends, beliefs, and practices associated with Welsh wells is obviously the fruit of long and careful research into written and oral sources. It may well serve as a model for similar much needed work in

other Celtic lands. This is not to say that Mr. Jones' interpretation of the well-cult will be acceptable to all, or that it is sustained by the evidence. But his viewpoint though explicit is not obtrusive—unlike Hardy's work on Irish wells of a century ago. His case is that despite the introduction of Christianity into Wales, "there never was a real breach of continuity in Celtic religious life" (preface). This reviewer is willing to accept the pagan origin of some—or even many—Celtic "holy" wells, but not the author's rather naive view of the Church's desperate compromise with a pagan cult! The further statement he approvingly quotes that "we are face to face in Britain with living forms of the oldest, lowest, most primitive religion in the world" (p. 11) may make thrilling reading, but is hardly *au courant* with the findings of modern ethnology.

On the side of research, a closer study of Irish sources would have shed more light on some features and made for wider interest: Nudd (Nod) and Lud(d) e.g., (p. 13) hav long since been identified with the Celtic deity Nodons whose temple and bronze plaque were discovered at Lydney Park in Gloucester. The Irish equivalent is Nuad, preserved in the name of Ireland's ecclesiastical center, Maynooth. Again, what is known as St. Anne's Well in Glamorganshire, with its peculiarly constructed statue (p. 49) seems to point rather strikingly to the Celtic goddess Anu or Ana "of whom are the Paps of Ana in Luachair" (County Kerry, Ireland). (Cf. *Irish Texts Society*, XLI, 182-183). A few other points, such as the pertinence of certain biblical and Welsh literary references, e.g. "living water," might also be questioned. A more generous sprinkling of English translations would also be welcome to non-Welsh readers. "Vortary" (p. 98) is an obvious misprint for "votary." All in all, however, this is a well written, neatly printed volume and a valuable contribution to Celtic lore. (JOHN P. SWEENEY)

KREDEL, FRITZ (Illustrations) and FREDERICK P. TODD (Text). *Soldiers of the American Army, 1775-1954.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1954. Pp. viii, 133. $12.50.)

This work, originally published in 1941 in a limited edition with hand-colored plates, has been revised and reissued to reach the growing audience for military history. It consists of thirty-two full-page colored illustrations of some of the uniforms worn by the army between 1775 and 1954. Accompanying each plate is a page of historical and descriptive data drawn largely from primary sources. Specific references to sources are given in a note at the bottom of each page of text, and a general bibliography of archival, printed, and pictorial references completes the volume. The book is unpaged, but the material is in chronological order. The only error in the work seems to have been the result of the transposition of the captions under the figures in the plate marked "Federal Infantry—1862."

Both the author and the illustrator have worked for many years on the problems of documenting and reproducing the details of military dress and equip-

ment. This collaboration has produced a handsome book that will be treasured by military enthusiasts. But, perhaps, the deeper significance of this work is that it represents another attempt to introduce the soldier to the citizen, and to make each aware of the common tradition of honor and service. (HAROLD D. LANGLEY)

LOWIE, ROBERT H. *Toward Understanding Germany.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1954. Pp. ix, 396. $6.00.)

This book is the work of an ethnologist; nevertheless, it contains some material of possible interest to the historian. Unfortunately, there is no introduction to explain why it was written; and the reader has to be satisfied with the title and the general statement that it deals "with the social psychology of the 'Germans' during the last two centuries." By piecing together other statements scattered throughout the book the reviewer concluded that the writer's intent was to disprove some of the assumptions held about the Germans, e.g., their excessive nationalism, their political incompetence, the survival of patriarchalism in the family, the virulence of German anti-Semiticism—in sum, their uniqueness in western Europe.

The writer points up the difficulties of generalizing about the Germans in view of the extent to which particularism, variations in customs and dialect, and differences in class have survived among them. He does admit that German society has never known the gentleman as a type, although other western European societies have to a greater or lesser degree. Class distinctions, and the often ridiculous penchant for titles were more pronounced there, too, though much less so since the last war. The higher middle class was not politically incompetent, however, as some critics have claimed, but was simply too interested in culture. If the Swiss Germans have been successful democrats, there is no reason why the Germans proper cannot be so. Patriarchalism, which some scholars—not historians, thank heaven!—have linked up with the German acceptance of Nazism, has been markedly on the wane since the nineteenth century, even more than in Switzerland; and the realization of feminine equality has probably taken place more rapidly in Germany than in France. And except for the fanaticism and sadism of some Nazi leaders and officials, the author does not find that German anti-Semiticism was unique.

Few readers versed in German affairs will want to disagree with Lowie's basic thesis that we must regard Germany as part of a great western European culture area which possesses numerous local variations. Historians with rare exceptions have always stressed this fact, and present political necessity has brought many other commentators on the German scene to emphasize it also. But the historian, while accepting the author's thesis and most of his conclusions, will, nonetheless, be left with the problem of trying to explain why Germany's political development was so different prior to 1945. (JOHN K. ZEENDER)

McGarry, Daniel D. *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury. A Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium.* Translated from the Latin, with an Introduction, Critical Notes, and Bibliography (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1955. Pp. xxvii, 305. $5.00.)

John of Salisbury is universally recognized as one of the leading mediaeval humanists and educators, and as one of the mediaeval writers most widely read in the Latin classics. His *Metalogicon* embodies his views on educational theory and practice, fortified by copious reference to and quotations from earlier writers, especially the ancients. At the same time, the work furnishes us with precious information on the general intellectual ferment and crisis in the middle of the twelfth century. Therefore, the English translation of the *Metalogicon* —and this is the first—is most welcome. The translator published a valuable article on the educational theory of John of Salisbury in 1948 [*Speculum*, XXIII (1948), 659-675] and has thus been working on his author for a number of years. The translation is based on the excellent critical edition of the Latin text by Clement Webb. It is generally accurate, adequate attention is given to the sources in the notes, and the book is furnished with a good bibliography and index. The introduction (pp. xv-xxv), however, is somewhat disappointing. A much fuller analysis of the contents of the *Metalogicon*, and a much fuller treatment of John's sources and his method of employing them would be desirable. Furthermore, the short section on the Latin of the *Metalogicon* is unsatisfactory. A number of the usages mentioned occur in patristic Latin, and a number of others are not peculiar to John but are common to mediaeval Latin in general. In the bibliography one misses the important monograph of H. Liebeschütz, *Mediaeval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury* (London, 1950). The book is attractively printed and is furnished with two plates. (Martin R. P. McGuire)

Morelli, Emilia (Ed.). *Le Lettere di Benedetto XIV al Card. de Tencin dai Testi Originali.* I, *1740-1747.* [Storia e Letteratura, Vol. 55.] (Rome: Storia e Letteratura. 1955. Pp. xi, 501. 4000 lire, or 4500 for the special edition.)

In characterizing the work of Cardinal de Tencin as French chargé d'affaires in Rome, 1739-1742, Jean Hanoteau stated that the cardinal's greatest service was "the establishing of the correspondence" with Pope Benedict XIV (*Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France* (Rome), III, 183]. Such praise for the letters is borne out by their contents. Inasmuch as the neutrality of the Papal States was violated by both the Austrians and the Spanish, the ambitions of Elizabeth Farnese affected the future ownership of Parma, and other events during the War of Austrian Succession were of importance to Benedict XIV, the views of so able an observer are of interest. The letters also give a detailed picture of the demands upon the pope as ruler in the Papal States and head of the Church. But the letters give more than information. They reveal a remarkable man, brilliant and devout. Only a great man could have done as much as he did, and only one who dedicated himself

could have cheerfully spent such long hours at work. Again and again his virtues appear: his courage and forthrightness, his lack of interest in wealth, his simple meals, his humility, e.g., when he walked among the poor in the Trastevere district, his submission to the will of God. A reader should remember that these were personal letters, which the pope never expected to be circulated.

Cardinal de Tencin sent translations of these letters to the ministers of foreign affairs in Paris. From these copies Émile de Heeckeren published two volumes in 1912. Immediately Paul Dudon stated that more letters existed in the Vatican Archives. Again in 1921, Ludwig von Pastor commented about the incompleteness of the 1912 edition. Now, after twenty-four additional years a definitive edition is being published, mainly from the originals in the Vatican Archives. This volume contains 283 letters. Dr. Morelli's edition will contain 760 letters in comparison with Heeckeren's 665. For some examples of her resourcefulness and careful editing cf. pp. ix, 183, 191, 251-63, 329-50. She points out the difference between the pope's lively style and Cardinal de Tencin's prosaic translations. What could be more effective than Benedict XIV's answer to those who spoke of bad churchmen (pp. 20-21), or his characterization of Gallicanism (pp. 114-115)? (MARY LUCILLE SHAY)

OLICHON, ARMAND. *Father Six. Parish Priest and Viceroy.* Translated from the French by Barbara Wall; Introduction by Graham Greene. (London: Burns & Oates; Fresno: Academy Library Guild. 1954. Pp. 100. $1.50.)

The French original of this work, written in 1929 by the director of the Union missionaire du clergé de France, was the first western acquaintance with the fascinating life-story of a modern Abbé Suger. Like the twelfth-century Abbott of St. Denis, Tran-Van-Luc of Viet Nam (1825-1899) was priest, statesman, viceroy, builder of a noble church, and economic adviser and leader of his people.

The affectionate name, Father Six, commemorated Tran-Van-Luc's torture and imprisonment in the pagan persecutions of 1857-1858 when he allowed himself to be mistaken, wearing cassock and crucifix, for the hunted French missionary, Bishop Jeantet. The youth at that time had received only the diaconate—six minor orders. After release and ordination, he was assigned as parish priest of Phat-Diem, a poverty-stricken village near the sea, depopulated by persecution. In the next three decades this great Vietnamese priest led his flock in building canals and dikes that transformed marshes into rich rice paddies. He built a magnificent pro-cathedral of marble and carved teakwood in unique Oriental architecture. He wrote hymns and prayers in his native language, organized ceremonies that brought throngs for holy days, and saw his parish grow from a handful to 15,000, the majority of whom were daily communicants.

In a land torn by conflicts of religions, xenophobia, and foreign pressure, Father Six was trusted by Catholics, pagans, patriots, bandits, and Frenchmen.

Named viceroy in 1886 for the three provinces of North Viet Nam, his bishop ordered him to accept. The pagan emperor had a gold medal struck in his honor, inscribed "His word sows confidence. He gives peace." It is an enthralling story of a country now a pivotal name in international news, and of a people whose Catholicism for four centuries has been sealed in suffering. It is too bad, thus, that Monsignor Olichon's final chapter, bringing Catholic statistics up to date, has been omitted and nothing supplied of the sufferings of the Church and native Catholics under Japanese occupation, 1940-1945, and under Communist pressure ever since. Father Six would have wished mention to be made that the first President of the Republic of South Viet Nam is a Catholic, Ngo Dinh Diem; and that in 1954 nearly a million Catholic Vietnamese sacrificed homes, belongings, and livelihood to flee North Viet Nam rather than give up their faith under Communism.

Graham Greene's introduction is singularly inept. Although he boasts of three visits to Viet Nam, he says nothing of the Church today. It would seem as though he had read neither the original nor the translation, for he confuses Father Six with a young martyr of 1857, Jean Phap; and uses his space to write flippantly of Ste. Therese of Lisieux who is not mentioned in the book. Minor inaccuracies in the translation occur, such as "two teams" of carpenters for "dix equipes" or "on the nerve of the government" for "au contre de" and some omissions are inexplicable, such as paragraphs about the friendship between Father Six and a young French captain who later became Marshal Joffre of World War I. The most serious liberty taken, however, remains the suppression of the final chapter and all reference to the historical situation of the Church and Catholics in Viet Nam today. (DOROTHY G. WAYMAN)

PERNOUD, RÉGINE. *The Retrial of Joan of Arc. The Evidence at the Trial for Her Rehabilitation 1450-1456* Translated by J. M. Cohen. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1955. Pp. xiii, 264. $4.75.)

A little known story of a never-dying phenomenon, the life and death of Joan of Arc, is the precious burden of this simple, engaging work of Madame Pernoud. To those acquainted only with the account of the trial and condemnation of the Maid of Orléans, this skillful selection from the mass of retrial documents reveals the artless simplicity and forceful personality of one of history's heroines as she actually appeared to her fifteenth-century contemporaries. For readers of today who are accustomed by public court reporting to follow closely the unfolding of testimony, this book will have a twentieth-century ring. Situations are so real, human nature so immutable, and knavery so much a part of every age that the reader will have to remind himself that he is following a case, not in the 1950's, but one that took place five hundred years ago. Madame Pernoud has performed a valuable service for the cause of popular history and of St. Jeanne d'Arc Wisely she leaves the testimony speak for itself, adding up to an indictment of the judge and his court on

grounds of incompetence and partiality, for failing to permit Joan the right of counsel, for imprisoning her in a secular jail, for garbling the evidence, for refusing her appeal to a Roman court, for coercing her into wearing men's clothing to save her virtue, and finally for sending her to execution without the required secular judgment. *The Retrial of Joan of Arc* is popular history with a scientific flavor which does honor to its author, its translator, and its publisher. (Owen J. Blum)

Rahner, Hugo, S.J. (Ed.). *Ignatius von Loyola: Briefwechsel mit Frauen.* (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 1956. Pp. xxiii, 648. 33—DM.)

"A recognized principle of the philosophy of communication," writes the author of this impressive book, "is that every word in a letter becomes alive only through the echo it evokes, or through the question which is answered in letter form. This principle applies . . . even to Ignatius Loyola, who never in his life wrote a single line for the sake of doing so, and could be induced to break his iron silence and write a letter only in reply to a question, in response to the spiritual need of another, or in recognition of the claims of blood and friendship." From the vitality manifest in these eighty-odd letters here assembled for the first time in a single volume it is clear that Ignatius' reserve and formality offered no real barriers to communication. For the people of his day accepted the reserve as his aristocratic Spanish-Basque inheritance, his stately style, coupled with grave courtesy, as marks of his early training in the ducal court. Moreover, these very qualities helped shield him from undue encroachments on the privacy essential to meditation and study as well as every semblance of familiarity with women—a consideration imperative in those sad days of widespread moral corruption in the Church against which Ignatius thundered denunciations.

The women of all classes who appealed to him for help he met with equal tact and wisdom. Fitted by birth and training to deal with members of royal and other noble families, he served many—among them more than one queen—as confessor and spiritual guide. To other women of distinction he gave sound worldly and spiritual counsel—one letter remains from Vittoria Colonna—and corresponded with generous benefactresses who enabled him to complete his university studies, and to establish his earliest foundations. When the women of one group insisted that he organize a branch of his order for them, he resisted their plea, but turned their interest and energies toward remedying bad conditions surrounding unfortunate women in Rome and elsewhere. Correspondence with women of religious houses, and with the mothers of his spiritual sons, fall into their respective categories. As we know, he also on occasion wrote to women friends and relatives.

These letters which prove the scope of Ignatius' correspondence with women to be far wider than has been supposed, the author has translated from their sixteenth-century Spanish, French and Latin into easily readable German, and has so adapted his running commentary to them that together they form an

artistic whole. He has given us a new interpretation of Ignatius, a new historical source book, and has added important chapters to the history of Christian sociology, the pastoral care of women, and to hagiography—a truly notable achievement. (CHARLOTTE E. FORSYTH)

SACHSE, WILLIAM I. *The Colonial American in Britain.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 290. $5.50.)

This book is a well integrated story of the Americans who visited or stayed in England during the eighteenth century. After an introductory chapter that relates the difficulties of oceanic travel, the author studies the American colonials residing in the mother country—the tourist, the student, the businessman, the colonial emissary, and the office seeker. An epilogue concludes the study. The work itself is a model of organization. The author has integrated the results of his scholarly research into a readable story which emphasizes the neglected side of colonial history, the return journey to England He shows that many colonists returned to England for academic, business, political, and religious reasons and that some, intended to make only a temporary stay, remained permanently. Mr. Sachse probably should have given more attention to the work of colonial agents living in England.

This reviewer regrets that the author has chosen to group all his footnotes by chapters at the end of the book. Since this work is more for the scholar than the general reader, the former will hardly be very happy that he cannot check the references by looking at the bottom of the page. The scholarly reader will also regret that the author has not provided a bibliography. One error should be noted. Martin Howard's house that was ransacked in the riots accompanying the Stamp Act controversy was located in Newport, not Charlestown (p. 191). While Mr. Sachse has provided an adequate index, it is not a complete one; it is likewise to be regretted that he did not use the concluding chapter to summarize his study.

The above criticisms, however, are minor in a work of generally high quality and it can be warmly recommended to readers interested in colonial history as a scholarly and readable account of the colonial American in the mother country. (ROBERT C. NEWBOLD)

STROUPE, HENRY SMITH. *The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States, 1802-1865* An Annotated Bibliography with Historical Introduction and Notes. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1956 Pp. viii, 172. $4.50.)

This volume comprises a carefully annotated and well-edited list of 159 newspapers and periodicals issued in the Virginias, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida through the end of the Civil War. "Where known, the following information is given for each publication by formula: title, including variations;

place of publication; date of first and last issues; periodicity; format . . .; circulation, editor; and publisher or proprietor. Each sketch also identifies the editor and denomination, states what type of material the periodical contained, and gives sufficient general information to round out a brief history of the publication. Finally, each sketch locates extant files, either by references to published works in which they are listed, or to libraries holding them." The *United States Catholic Miscellany* and the *Pacificator* are included. Appendices provide a chronological list, another by denominations, and a third by place of publication. (EUGENE P. WILLGING)

SWANBERG, W. A. *Sickles the Incredible.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1956. Pp. 433. $6.00.)

On May 8, 1914, a military funeral in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, marked the end of the ninety-five year career of General Dan Sickles—all except a shattered skeleton of his right leg, which still survives in a Washington medical museum. Though hardly a religious man (his Catholicism seems to have been only a by-product of his second marriage to a Spanish noblewoman), he had found friendship with both a Catholic and a Protestant chaplain during the Civil War. The minister, J. H. Twichell, strangely enough left some of the best sources on the general's military career.

Sickles had an adventuresome life from his days as a Tammany congressman under Buchanan to the never-quiet closing years as a crusty retired general under Wilson. His life mirrors with the fascination of a pulp adventure magazine the slavery break, the war, and the consequent battle over the Gettysburg battle where he led his third corp out from the Union line and, according to the side taken, brought on Union victory or endangered its cause. Defending President Johnson, battling the Gould interests, interfering in Spanish politics while in the diplomatic service—these were but further elements in an extraordinary life. Over it all hung the shadowy episode of shooting his first wife's lover and through it all runs a quality of rare rascality tainted by the personal morals of a goat and the public standards of a robber baron.

The author has made a serious documented study from many primary sources. The only breaks, supposedly in behalf of reader interest, are a few fabricated conversations presented with apology. (HENRY J. BROWNE)

WHITEHALL, WALTER MUIR. *Boston Public Library. A Centennial History.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 274. $4.75.)

As the first metropolitan tax-supported public library, that of Boston was long the exemplar for other cities, especially in its early decades under the direction of Charles Jewett and Justin Winsor. Then excessive control by the incorporated trustees and inbreeding brought a decline in influence, particularized

in the planning of the Copley Square building from the top down by the president of the Board of Trustees and a New York architect more interested in translating European traditions to the United States than in developing a truly functional indigenous structure. The Copley Square building became a showpiece which tended to detract considerably from its popular function; for many decades American library architecture followed this bad archetype.

As librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, Mr. Whitehill is able to comment objectively, and with occasional salty humor, on the development of its famous sister institution. Sufficient detail is given so that non-professional readers will understand the significance of the evolutionary stages through which the library has passed, although floor plans and organizational charts might have facilitated understanding even more. From its origin, largely through the influence of George Ticknor and the philanthropist Joshua Bates, the library launched on a program of popular education and popular reading. To some degree this caused friction since the trustees, such as Edward Everett, often had more conservative ideas. After the departure of Winsor to Harvard the library was "in the doldrums," but under the energetic administration of Herbert Putnam and his successors a new progressive era began; today it is again in the rank of research libraries.

This well-written history exemplifies the development of the public library as an outstanding American social and educational institution. The drawings of Rudolph Ruzicka enhance the excellent format of the volume as a whole, which is rounded off by a fine index. (EUGENE P. WILLGING)

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